The Conversos and Moriscos in Late Medieval Spain and Beyond

Volume 3
Displaced Persons

Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions

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Kevin Ingram

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The Conversos and Moriscos in Late Medieval Spain and Beyond

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Displaced Persons

Edited by

Kevin Ingram & Juan Ignacio Pulido Serrano

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In Memory of
Francisco Márquez Villanueva (*1931–2013*)
and
Albert A. Sicroff (*1918–2013*)

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Series Introduction

Kevin Ingram

It is generally accepted that in the three decades following the 1391 pogrom against Spain's Jewish *aljamas* (neighborhoods), a third or more of Spanish Jews converted to Christianity. This mass conversion was repeated in 1492, when Spain's much reduced Jewish community was given the option of Christian baptism or expulsion. In this same year the Islamic Kingdom of Granada fell to the Christian forces and its Muslim inhabitants were soon presented with the same ultimatum: convert or leave the peninsula.

For the most part Medieval Christian Spain viewed the expulsion or conversion of the two minority religions as a victory of the true faith over infidels, and this sense of triumph was nurtured during the next four centuries by clerical and secular authorities, who promoted the view that Spain was a morally and physically purer nation as a result of the 1492 catharsis. There were, of course, dissenting voices, like for example Charles IV's secretary of finance, Pedro Varela, who in 1797 recommended the return to Spain of the Jews, arguing that their business and intellectual skills would have beneficial effects on the Spanish economy; and Jose Amador de los Rios, whose *Judios de España* (published in 1876) attempted to reconcile his fellow countrymen to Spain's rich and influential Sephardic past. However, the prevailing view was that the Jewish and Islamic cultures had debased the peninsula and that Spain was a better place for their absence. As for the converts from Islam and Judaism, the Conversos and Moriscos,[1] the belief was that these formed small, insignificant minorities who had made little lasting impression on Spanish society: the Moriscos, those furtive, intransigent followers of Muhammad, had been ejected from Spanish soil in 1609 for their sins against Church and patria; while the Conversos, after posing some initial problems as secret heretics and impudent social climbers, had been stifled (through the *limpieza de sangre* laws and Inquisition prosecutions) and ingested, without a trace, into mainstream (Old-Christian) society.

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1 The word *converso* is Spanish for convert. It is also used to describe Jewish converts to Christianity and their descendents. It will be written as "Converso" (with a capital C) throughout this compilation. The term *Morisco*, meaning Islamic convert to Christianity, will be written "Morisco."

This historiographical interpretation was not seriously challenged until 1948, when Americo Castro published *España en su historia*, in which the historian and philologist accorded to the Jews and Conversos a central position in Spain's Medieval and Early-Modern intellectual environment. Castro's views were soon attacked by members of the Francoist academy, who preferred, for ideological reasons, to regard modern Spain as a pure Hispano-Catholic phenomenon. When other studies were published supporting many of Castro's claims, they were either dismissed as *Castrista* (a derogatory term meaning sensationalist or perverse) or, when it became impossible to refute them, flagrantly ignored. Thus, in the wake of Castro's study, an academic cold war developed between two rival schools. One school, comprised of émigré scholars, home-based academics on the margins of the Francoist academy and some foreign (mostly American) hispanists, spoke of a Golden Age in which the Conversos and Moriscos were culturally significant; its antagonist, a Catholic-conservative group, made up of Francoist academics and a small but significant group of like-minded foreign scholars, emphasised an homogeneous Old-Christian Golden-Age culture in which the Conversos and the Moriscos figured as little more than inquisitorial anecdotes.

This conflict was to begin with a very low-key affair. In the fifties and sixties Spanish history was still something of an academic backwater, generating little scholarship outside the peninsula; even Spain's Golden Age was approached mostly through subjects (American colonialism, Counter-Reformation, Price Revolution…) that were viewed to have important implications for the more historically attractive environments north of the Pyrenees. Indeed, it was largely as a result of this international academic indifference to Spain's Golden Age that old historiographical prejudices remained active for so long. Fortunately this situation began to change, albeit slowly, in the post-Franco era, promoted by a more liberal Spanish academic environment as well as by an increased interest in socio-cultural themes.

Today Spain's multicultural Middle Ages attracts an enormous amount of scholarly attention, engendering studies that continue to shed light not only on the Conversos and Moriscos but also on the related issues of individual and group identity, community violence, everyday resistance, passing and Otherness, as the essays in this series will attest. However, before turning to these studies, I think it appropriate to briefly situate the two groups within their historical context, beginning with the Conversos, who have, at least up until quite recently, generated most interest.

The Conversos

As I have already stated, the Converso phenomenon begins in 1391, when, throughout the peninsula, Christian communities rose up against the Jewish *aljamas*, forcing large numbers of Jews (how many is uncertain) to convert to Christianity. Naturally, few of these early converts sincerely embraced the Catholic Church or Christian society; indeed, most congregated in Converso neighborhoods, where the Sephardic culture continued to exert a strong influence on their lives. For its part, Christian, or rather Old-Christian, Spain, did nothing to entice Conversos to the fold. Old-Christians remained antagonistic towards the new converts, whom they regarded (with some justification) as lukewarm Catholics, and this antagonism grew throughout the fifteenth century as a Converso middle sort, free from the social and commercial restrictions applied to the Jews, became increasingly prominent in business and professional activities.

Those Jews who converted to Christianity in the wake of the 1391 pogrom found themselves in an advantageous position vis-à-vis both the Jewish and Old-Christian communities. As New Christians they were no longer subject to the restrictions that had hampered Jewish merchants and professionals. As literate men (all Jewish males were required to gain a basic level of literacy in order to read the Torah), often with a sound knowledge of trade and finance, and with important contacts in Jewish financial and mercantile circles, they were able to compete at an advantage with an Old-Christian urban community. A number of these new converts accumulated large fortunes, which they used to advance their social positions within their cities. One method of social advancement was through the purchase of administrative offices within the church and local government; another method was to form marriage alliances with that other *arriviste* group, Castile's new nobility—families like the Ayala, Mendoza and Manrique, who, through wise political maneuvering, had risen rapidly to the top of Spain's fifteenth-century social hierarchy.

The Conversos' increasing commercial and social prominence in Castile's urban centers inevitably led to clashes with the Old-Christian community. One of the most dramatic confrontations occurred in Toledo in 1449, where a Converso agent of the crown, Rodrigo de Cota, was made responsible for collecting an extraordinary tax levied to aid Juan II prosecute his war against a French incursion into Navarre. Predisposed to see this tax as an example of Converso avarice and malice, the Old-Christian community turned on its New-Christian neighbors, looting and burning their neighborhoods. Ordered to put a stop to the violence, the *alcalde mayor*, Pedro Sarmiento, merely used

his power to inflame anti-Converso feeling even further, and to introduce a statute, the *sentencia-estatuto*, prohibiting Conversos from occupying public office—that is to say from comporting themselves as nobles.

The Toledo statute (now recognized as the first *limpieza de sangre*, or pure blood, law) was soon followed by other similar legislation, preventing Conversos from entering city councils, cathedral chapters, universities and noble and religious orders on the grounds that they were of Jewish provenance and thus second class Christians. At the same time agitation grew for an inquisitorial body to investigate a Converso community suspected of being insincere neophytes. In 1480 the first tribunal of the Spanish Inquisition was established in Seville. Others followed in rapid succession, their task to root out Judaism from the New-Christian community.[2]

2 One of the subjects most debated in Converso studies is the Catholic Monarchs' reasons for establishing their own Inquisitorial body (as opposed to utilizing the papal Inquisition council that had existed since the thirteenth century). Was the institution created to root out Judaizing or for other, more devious, reasons? Benzion Netanyahu, for example, believes that there were very few crypto-Jews within the Converso community by the middle of the fifteenth century and that the Judaizing problem was used as a pretext to attack the Conversos as a whole, reducing their economic and political status. However, this argument is sustained only by ignoring or rejecting important documentation, not least of which are the fifteenth-century chronicles by both the Conversos' detractors and their sympathisers. It is instructive to note that while the Converso writers Alvaro de Palencia, Fernando de Pulgar and Juan Ramirez de Lucena berated the Inquisition for its inhumanity towards the New Christians, all three men recognized that Judaizing was prevalent in the Converso community, especially in Andalucia, where, Palencia noted, "the belief in the coming of the fallacious Messiah was widely extended among the Conversos." Fernando de Pulgar also indicated that Judaizing was widespread in the south of Spain, when, in attacking Inquisition brutality and rapine, he wrote, "as the Old [Christians] are here [in Seville] such bad Christians, the New [Christians] are such good Jews . . . I believe that there are ten thousand girls who, because from birth they never leave their homes, neither hear nor know any other doctrine, but follow that [Judaism] which they observe their parents practicing indoors." There is no reason to believe that these chroniclers' views on Converso Judaizing were not shared by the Catholic Monarchs and that the royal couple saw the Holy Office as a means of eradicating an important religious problem. This is not to say, of course, that this was the only reason for the creation of a Spanish Inquisition. The Crown was also aware that Old-Christian antagonism towards the tightly knit Converso urban communities could, and did, lead to violent confrontations. Having gained power after a four year civil war, Ferdinand and Isabel were naturally sensitive to the issue of civil discord and saw in the Inquisition a means of institutionalizing and controlling an urban problem that was always in danger of escalating into disruptive civil uprisings. The measure undoubtedly created enormous distress within the Converso communities, attacked by rapacious and corrupt Inquisition officials. However, we should not jump too

A major obstacle in attacking this problem, or so it was believed, was the continuing presence of a large Jewish community in the peninsula, eager to entice the *anusim* (forced ones) back to the fold. And so in 1492 the Jews were ordered to convert to Christianity or leave Spain (Castile and Aragón) with whatever belongings they could carry. Some seventy or eighty thousand chose to leave; perhaps an equal number converted to Christianity. These unhappy converts now joined an older body of New Christians assailed by *limpieza de sangre* proscriptions and Holy Office persecution.

In the first forty years of Holy Office activity, it is reckoned that some three thousand Conversos were sent to the stake, accused of practicing the Jewish faith. Many thousands more were subjected to lengthy prison sentences and dispossessed of their property. However, after 1520 the rate of prosecutions declined quite considerably and this has led a number of historians to posit the view that the New Christian community had to a large degree been assimilated into the majority religion and culture by the mid sixteenth century. This view requires some qualification. For one reason or another, accusations of Judaizing declined after 1520, but this does not necessarily infer that the Conversos had become loyal subjects or good Catholics. It is noteworthy that all the major movements for reform in early modern Spain were either driven by Conversos or heavily supported by them. The *alumbrado*, or illuminist movement, which erupted in central Castile in the second decade of the century, was almost totally composed of Conversos, who rejected Catholic dogma for mystical and quietist religious practice. The Comunero revolt of 1521, an attack on a Crown that accrued political power at the expense of its nobility and urban patrician class, attracted a disproportionate number of Converso artisans and merchants to its ranks. Above all, Spain's Erasmian movement, which entered the peninsula with Charles I's Flemish court in 1521, was dominated by Converso professionals, both at court and in the universities, especially at the recently founded Complutense University, at Alcalá de Henares.

In assuming an Erasmian humanist mantle, Converso scholars were able to attack Catholic practice with a certain amount of impunity, at least at first, when the Flemish humanist enjoyed the support of powerful secular and clerical figures at court, including the Inquisitor General Alfonso Manrique. However, the Erasmists situation deteriorated abruptly in the 1530s as the Spanish monarch, now Emperor Charles V, became increasingly sensitive to the political dangers of a vociferous religious reform movement. With the Inquisition once more on the attack, the predominantly Converso Erasmian

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readily to the conclusion that this was the Catholic Monarchs' underlying intention in creating the Inquisition council.

movement went underground, voicing its disquiet between the lines of humanist essays or through creative fictions, especially the picaresque novel, a particularly Converso genre.[3]

Outside the Converso humanist elite, it is difficult to determine the character of Spain's Conversos in the sixteenth century. The view that the New Christians were divided into three groups, those who Judaized, those who were sincere Christians, and those who were neither (the apathetic, sceptical and atheistic) is often put forward by historians taxed with presenting a simple answer to the vexed question of Converso identity.[4] However, this is a singularly misleading taxonomy, because it implies an equal and rigid division that never existed. We have no idea what proportion of Conversos considered themselves Jewish, Christian or skeptics. We do know, however, that traumatized Conversos might make a number of religious border crossings as they

3 When I say Converso genre, I do not mean merely that at its forefront were Converso writers, as this would hardly distinguish it from any other branch of Spanish Golden-Age literature (see note 11). What I mean is that Picaresque fiction revolves around Converso, or barely disguised Converso, anti-heroes. The multiple misadventures of these marginal figures gave their creators an opportunity to paint a bleak picture of contemporary Spanish society, cynically attacking social mores and debunking Old-Christian pretensions to noble, honourable character. The works are laden with inter-textual messages, aimed at what Mateo Alemán described as the "discreet reader," many of them allusions to the protagonists' Converso roots. While we have little biographical information on most of these authors (for obvious reasons), the information we do have usually points strongly to Converso backgrounds. It is particularly noteworthy that many of the authors were from medical backgrounds, as medical practice was virtually a Converso monopoly in early modern Spain. Mateo Alemán, author of Guzmán de Alfarache was from a well known Seville medical clan suspected of being Converso. Francisco López de Úbeda, author of *La pícara Justina*, was also a physician (from Toledo), as were Jerónimo de Alcalá Yáñez (*El donado hablador*) and Carlos García (*La desordenada codicia de los bienes ajenos*). García, from Zaragoza, moved to Paris early in his career, where he entered the circle of the Converso Elias de Montach, physician to Maria de Medici. Antonio Enríquez Gómez, author of *La vida de Gregorio Guadaña*, was not a physician. He was, however, a crypto-Jew who fled Spain for Amsterdam in 1636. The author of *Lazarillo de Tormes* (a work regarded as the first example of the picaresque genre) remains anonymous, although the text itself suggests that he was a Converso with strong Erasmian sympathies. Recently Rosa Navarro has compared the text with the *Diálogo de Mercurio y Carón* and *Diálogo de las cosas acaecidas en Roma* to make an argument for the converso humanist Alfonso de Valdés as the author of the work. See Rosa Navarro Durán, *Alfonso Valdés, autor del Lazarillo de Tormes*, Madrid, 2004.

4 This is the view of José Faur, *In the Shadow of History: Jews and Conversos at the Dawn of Modernity*, New York, 1992, ch. 3. Stephen Haliczer divides the Conversos into three broad groups, omitting the religiously apathetic group from his typology (Stephen Haliczer, *Inquisition and Society in the Kingdom of Valencia, 1478 to 1834*, Berkeley, 1990, p. 212.).

searched for spiritual deliverance and/or social acceptability.[5] As for the term "sincere Christians," this suggests a religious compliance that was far from the case. While many Conversos undoubtedly regarded themselves as Christian (by the sixteenth century, the majority), their brand of Christianity (hybrid, mystical, militant) was often a calculated affront to the Catholic Church, an act of subversion rather than conformism. Finally, the division implies a disjuncture within Converso communities that was, in fact, not so readily apparent. As the Inquisition records attest, those who Judaized, those who considered themselves sincere Christians, and those who were sceptics all interrelated in the same Converso neighborhoods and, frequently, in the same Converso extended and nuclear families.[6] Clearly, social and cultural ties were often much more important factors in deciding a Converso's sense of self than religious ones.

The diversity of the Conversos' responses to their peculiar socio-cultural situation would seem to militate against categorizing them as a discrete group. Nevertheless, I believe the Conversos do share an important commonality: a feeling of resentment against an oppressive Old-Christian moral majority. This resentment is rarely overtly expressed; rather, it takes a number of subtle forms, from the loaded subtext of picaresque novels to acts of everyday resistance. The majority of sixteenth-century Spanish Conversos may not have been Judaizers, but it would be unwise to take for granted their assimilation or conformism. Certainly, there are grounds for arguing that many Conversos considered themselves both different from and superior to their Old-Christian neighbors, and that they believed this higher status was conveyed upon them by their Jewish background. They were, after all, the heirs of Gods chosen people, who were authentic monotheists, not idol worshipers like their pagan (Gentile) counterparts.[7]

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5 See, for example, Richard L. Kagan and Abigail Dyer eds., *Inquisitorial Inquiries: Brief Lives of Secret Jews and Other Heretics*, Baltimore, 2004.

6 The many different ideologies at play in Converso extended families is clearly presented by Pilar Huerga Criado, *En la raya de Portugal: Solidaridad y tensiones en la comunidad judeoconversa*, Salamanca, 1994, pp. 277–282.

7 This point was made by the Converso writers Alonso de Cartagena (*Defensorium unitatis christianae*) and Diego de Valera (*Espejo de verdadera nobleza*), both writing in response to the 1449 *sentencia estatatu*. For Cartagena, Christianity was a redirection and a deepening of the Jewish faith: the Old Law had merely evolved into a more ideal form. Jews who embraced Christianity were embracing an evangelical spirit that had been present in their faith, in men like Moses and Aaron. The Gentiles did not have this foundation; none of their writings made reference to the coming of the Christ or to the Trinity. They were sons who after a long absence returned home; the Jews (for which read Conversos), were daughters who had never

So far I have spoken only of the Converso phenomenon in Spain. In Portugal, the situation was somewhat different. It was here that the majority of Spain's Jews took up residence after the 1492 expulsion order, more than doubling the size of Portugal's own Sephardic community. At first the native Jewish community and the immigrants were allowed to practice their religion in peace. However, in 1497, under pressure from Spain's Catholic Monarchs, King Manuel of Portugal forcibly converted his Jewish subjects. It was a move he was reluctant to make, valuing, much more so than his Spanish counterparts, the Jews' economic potential. Thus, as an incentive to the neophytes to remain in his realm, he decreed a twenty year moratorium on investigations into their religious activities. It was during this period that many Converso traders became enormously wealthy through the booming spice and slave trades and used their wealth to maintain a powerful Converso lobby in the Vatican. Through this lobby the Portuguese Conversos were able to resist the establishment of an Inquisition council until 1534 and stifle its activities for yet another fourteen years thereafter.

It was thus not until the mid sixteenth century, over fifty years after the Spanish expulsion, that the Portuguese Converso community began to experience serious problems with the Holy Office. As a response to this increased vigilance, many Converso families opted to immigrate back to Spain, where they hoped to escape Inquisition attention. Unfortunately, their escape coincided with an increase in Spanish Inquisition activity, promoted by a Counter-Reformation monarchy ever more obsessed with socio-religious deviance. Suspected of crypto-Jewish activity, the Portuguese immigrants naturally attracted a great deal of Inquisition attention, as a result of which convictions for Judaizing escalated. Not all of those convicted were Portuguese, however. The Holy Office's increased sensitivity to crypto-Judaism led to the exposure of indigenous Jewish cells also, like that of Quintanar de la Orden, where between 1588 and 1592 the Mora family and its close circle were the object of a famous Inquisition inquiry.

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left the paternal house. In his *Espejo*, Diego de Valera writes: "If we are looking for authorities for Jewish nobility, we can find many, for it is written in the fourth chapter of Deuteronomy in speaking of the Jews: 'What other nation is as noble? As it says, not one.' " The Converso preacher Juan de Avila (later Saint Juan de Avila) echoed these thoughts on the Jews' superior status in his work *Audi filia*, written while he languished in the Seville Inquisition prison, accused on being an *alumbrado*. In this work Avila reminds his readers that Jesus preached only to the Jews. Later Christ's apostles took his message further afield, "and now the preaching of Christ's name is growing every day in distant lands, so that he is not only light for the Jews, who believed in Him, and to whom he was sent, but also to the gentiles, who were in blindness and idolatry far removed from God."

While the Spanish crown was well aware that most of the Portuguese Conversos were crypto-Jews, it was disposed, on occasion, to turn a blind eye to this heresy, in return for financial aid. In 1602 Philip III applied to Rome for a bull pardoning the past heresies of 6,000 Portuguese Converso families; in return for this munificence, a consortium of Portuguese businessmen paid the crown the enormous sum of 1,860,000 ducats. Twenty-five years later, Philip IV brokered a deal with a new group of Portuguese businessmen, who were given licence to ply their trade in Spain and its dominions for another enormous sum of money. Many of these men now gravitated towards Madrid, where for two decades or more they dominated court finance. The architect of this deal was the king's *privado* the Count-Duke of Olivares, a particularly fervent enemy of anti-Converso attitudes and legislation.[8] While the Count Duke remained in power, the Portuguese financiers were protected. However, on his fall, in 1642, the Inquisition took the offensive, prosecuting some of the court's wealthiest businessmen as Judaizers and stripping them of their enormous fortunes. Faced with continuous Inquisition attacks, many well-heeled members of the Portuguese business community chose to leave Spain for France and the Netherlands, taking their financial expertise with them.

With Spain's wealthy Converso businessmen in exile, Inquisition prosecutions for Judaizing slowly declined over the next century.[9] This did not mean, however, that the Spanish obsession with the Conversos followed suit. For this obsession was not only with Converso heresy; indeed, that was the least of it. Spain was obsessed with the Conversos' Jewish essence. If this malady were allowed to reign unchecked, it would, it was believed, infect the entire kingdom, impairing everyone's virtue and honour. Even after the Inquisition ledgers ceased to record accusations against Judaizers, even after the *limpieza de sangre* laws became no more than a bureaucratic formality, this fixation with the secret Jew remained.

For the majority of Spaniards, the Jews and the Conversos were the embodiment of alien attitudes and beliefs, the corrupters of Spanish tradition; and so, by some perverse inversion, everything foreign, different or innovative was liable to be labelled Jewish: The Spanish masons, the Spanish Enlightenment, the First and Second Republics were all associated with Jewish malfeasance; so too, in Américo Castro's view, was capitalist enterprise and intellectual inquiry

8 Olivares was himself the great grandson on King Ferdinand's Converso secretary Lope Conchillos. Furthermore, his family belonged to the House of Medina Sidonia, a noble Andalusian clan that maintained close links with Seville's Converso patrician merchants.

9 With the exception of the decade 1720 to 1730 which witnessed a last major wave of prosecution.

in general. According to Castro, middle class activity was anathematized in Spain precisely because of its association with the Jews and the Conversos, and this rejection had grave consequences for the country's later development. It is an intriguing view, although one that is difficult to validate, much of the relevant evidence being locked up in a nation's psyche, beyond the reach of social scientists' tools of measure. What cannot be denied, however, is that the Jews and Conversos have remained a contentious issue in Spanish culture up to the present day, as the recent academic debate on their historiographical importance attests.

The Moriscos

Sizeable Islamic communities existed in Christian Spain from the second wave of the *Reconquista* (in the thirteenth century) onwards. These communities were encouraged by a Spanish Crown eager to maintain the same infrastructure bequeathed to it by the retreating Islamic forces and to tap into the wealth and expertise of the Islamic society. Significantly, the Crown made no attempt to convert these Muslim denizens, known as *Mudejares*, or change in any way their Islamic lifestyle. To do so would have run the risk of losing a valuable commodity to the Nasrid kingdom of Granada.

However, this policy of toleration towards the Muslims was seriously questioned after 1492, when the Granada stronghold fell to the combined forces of Isabel and Ferdinand. Having now destroyed the final remnants of Islamic rule on the peninsula, under the banner of "Holy Crusade," the Catholic Monarchs (a title bestowed upon the royal couple by the Pope for their crusading activity) could no longer justify their erstwhile relaxed attitude towards their indigenous infidels. Pressure now needed to be exerted on the Spanish Muslims, starting with the population of Granada, to convert to Christianity. But what form was this pressure to take? Was it to be a gradual but persistent process of proselytism and instruction, or was it to be a swift, radical act of enforced baptism? The first option was supported by Granada's civil governor, Íñigo Hurtado de Mendoza, Marquis of Tendilla, and its archbishop, Hernando de Talavera, who saw their task as one of pacification and accommodation. The second option was advocated by Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros, who as primate of Castile was in a position to make his hard line opinions felt.

In 1499, the rumour began to circulate in Granada and the surrounding territory that the Cisneros camp had triumphed and that the Catholic Monarchs were about to renege on the 1492 capitulations allowing the Muslims liberty

of religious practice. Street fighting now broke out in the *Albaicin*, the Muslim district of the city, and these disturbances soon escalated into pitched battles and open rebellion. By the time this insurrection was defeated, in 1500, the Catholic Monarchs had decided upon a policy of forced conversion, at least for the Muslim population of Castile, which now included Granada; for the time being the Muslims in Ferdinand's own kingdom of Aragón remained free to practice their chosen religion.

Quite why Ferdinand chose to delay implementation of the conversion order in his own territories remains open to debate; however, the fact that many of the Aragonese and Valencian Muslims were the vassals of powerful noble families certainly played a part in the king's decision. Any act that disturbed or threatened the equilibrium of this lucrative minority would inevitably have incurred the wrath of their noble landlords, and this was something the absentee monarch clearly wished to avoid. In the event, the Aragonese and Valencian Moriscos were not converted until 1525.

Meanwhile the majority of Castilian Muslims took the baptismal waters. In theory they were given the choice of conversion or expulsion; however, the conditions under which they were allowed to leave the peninsula were so onerous that few took the latter option. It is clear that the majority justified their apostasy as an unavoidable necessity, and in this they were supported by their religious leaders, who counselled the converts to observe Islamic practice in secret.

In the circumstances, few of the converts chose to sincerely embrace Christianity, and somewhat surprisingly very little pressure was exerted upon them to do so. Once the Muslims were formally baptized they were left mostly to their own devices, at least during the first decades of the century, when the Inquisition was busy directing its attention towards the Converso community. Curiously, Castile's Judaizers were numerically far inferior to its crypto-Muslims. However, religion was not the Inquisition's only criterion for attacking neophytes; it was also moved by political and economic considerations, and patrician Converso merchants were a far richer prize than humble Morisco laborers. Thus for a time the Moriscos were let off the hook.

This situation changed, however, in mid century, when the Ottoman Turks began to threaten Spanish hegemony in the Western Mediterranean. As tension mounted, the Spanish Crown turned its attention to its Morisco subjects, who were now perceived as potentially dangerous fifth columnists. Particularly treacherous, or so the Crown believed, were the Granadan Moriscos (located closest to the Islamic regimes of North Africa), who, despite the 1502 conversion order and other legislation banning the use of Arabic language and dress, had made little effort to adopt Christian customs or religion.

In a new bid to acculturate this community, legislation was once again introduced reinforcing the earlier religious and cultural proscriptions. Again the legislation led to an insurrection, the Alpujarra War, which raged for two years and decimated the zone's Morisco communities. At the end of the fighting, in 1570, those Moriscos who survived found themselves either enslaved or forcibly relocated to other communities throughout Andalucía and New Castile. Philip II undoubtedly viewed the break up and transfer of these communities as a necessary first step in their Christianization. But the harsh policy appears only to have steeled the dispossessed group in its resolve to remain Islamic.

And still there remained a hundred thousand Moriscos on the Valencian coast, many of whom were known to be in contact with the Islamic communities of North Africa. Should this community also be relocated? Or was the solution more drastic still: the expulsion of all the Moriscos from Spain? It was in this atmosphere of tension and uncertainty that a number of "ancient" lead books were discovered in the city of Granada, whose contents revealed that among Spain's first-century Christian evangelists were two converted Arabs.

The Lead Books were in fact recent forgeries by local Moriscos, who hoped to enhance their community's prestige by presenting Arabs, a people associated with Islamic iniquity, as founding members of the Spanish church. The implication was that Moriscos also had the capacity to be good Christians and worthy Spaniards However, it would be rash to consider this appeal for equality as the work of sincere assimilationists. The Lead Books affair was also a secret violation of Christian sacred history; an act of duplicity and defiance, through which we once again glimpse the New Christian's Janus face.[10]

While the consensus of scholarly opinion is that the majority of Moriscos remained crypto-Muslims up until the expulsion order of 1609,[11] the paucity of preserved Islamic literature from sixteenth-century Spain has conditioned us to believe that this community was a modest, un-intellectual one. However, the lack of extant literature would appear to say as much about the hazards of literary production and preservation as it does about the intellectual resources

10 The Lead Books have generated enormous scholarly interest over the last few decades. For a brief examination of the affair, see L.P. Harvey, *Muslims in Spain 1500 to 1614*, Chicago, chapter eight.

11 This assumption should, however, be qualified, and is being qualified in recent scholarly studies. Separated from their religious authorities, forced to observe Islam clandestinely, it was inevitable that the Moriscos' Islamic practice would undergo important changes in the sixteenth century. Furthermore, the Moriscos' increasing contact with Christian belief introduced them to religious tendencies that began to inform their vision of the Islamic credo, as the *aljamiado* literature attests.

of Spain's Moriscos. Recent studies of *aljamiado* literature (Castilian and Catalan writings in Arabic script) reveal a dispersed but active Morisco intellectual community, whose devotional works were often influenced by *devotio moderna* and humanist views. They also introduce us to what appears to have been an extensive cultural resistance movement, anxious to preserve the Islamic faith and customs under extremely difficult conditions.

At the same time that scholars are re-examining *aljamiado* literature, they are also reassessing the "Moorish" novels and ballads. These works (the *Abenceraje* is perhaps the most famous), written in a period directly prior to the 1609 expulsion, present the Muslims not as villains but as noble and chivalrous heroes. Up until recently examined with little attention to its socio-historic context, this genre is now increasingly taken as evidence of a certain sympathy towards the oppressed Morisco within Spanish society. Undoubtedly the matter will receive further attention in the next years, in the wake of the quattrocentennial of the Morisco expulsion.

The Conversos and Moriscos in Late Medieval Spain and Beyond

It was in response to the ever growing historiographical debate on the Conversos and Moriscos that I began, in 2004, to organize a series of conferences examining Converso and Morisco themes. In staging these event, I had three aims in mind: first, to create an arena in which the Conversos and Moriscos were treated as related rather than separate socio-cultural phenomena; second, to bring together an interdisciplinary group of scholars to discuss Converso and Morisco themes from differing academic perspectives and approaches; and third, to provide a venue for Spanish scholars to exchange views with their non-Spanish counterparts, thus helping to establish much needed formal links between foreign and native Hispanists. These same goals have also guided the *Converso and Moriscos Studies* series, which offers selections of our conference papers, revised and expanded for publication.

Introduction to This Volume

This volume emerged from the Converso and Morisco conference held at Alcalá de Henares University in June 2010, in which the majority of the papers focused on the New Christian experience outside of Spain. Most of the essays in this collection also examine the New Christians abroad. However, in summarizing these contributions, it occurred to the editors that our central theme was not relocation or emigration, but physical and psychological displacement. The characters encountered in the following pages, whether denizens of Spain or foreign lands, have this in common: they are outsiders, their precarious socio-religious status and fluid identities determined by Old Christian prejudice and their own existentialist disquiet. Through escape, dissimulation or synergism, all are in search of a safe place to reside.

The collection begins with Sarah Nalle's essay, "A Forgotten Campaign . . .," which examines the phenomenon of the "new Conversos" in the district of Sigüenza during the second and third decades of the sixteenth century. This area contained many New Christians whose families had converted during the last wave of mass conversions, in 1492. These men and women had been mostly overlooked by the Inquisition during the first decades of its existence, in accordance with a moratorium on investigating the neophytes. However, this policy began to change by the 1530s. Now "new Converso" families, many of whom had become accustomed to following their old religion in private, found themselves the target of the inquisitors' aggression. One of the more obsessive Inquisition officials was Pedro Cortés, who soon began to move aggressively against the Converso communities of Sigüenza and its neighboring towns, increasing the prosecutions for Judaizing manyfold between 1535 and 1560. One victim of this reign of terror was the *letrado* Juan de Torres, who in 1537 returned to Castile from Genoa to visit his family. Although from a new Converso background, Torres appears to have abandoned his family's old faith, not that this helped him in his brush with the Holy Office. Nalle uses Torres' case to emphasize how powerless Conversos were to defend their interests against malicious Inquisition officials driven by private prejudices.

Gretchen Starr-Le Beau's "Iberians before the Venetian Inquisition" focuses on the Converso community of sixteenth-century Venice, where the Venetian Holy Office generally took a more lenient attitude towards Converso religious transgressions than its Roman and Spanish counterparts. The Venetian authorities were more rigorous, however, in their prosecution of Conversos who formally abandoned their religion for the Jewish faith, a major problem in a city

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that was considered by many New Christians to be a point of transit or transition from a Christian world to a Jewish one.

Daniel Laguna (c.1640–1730), the subject of Ruth Fine's essay, entertained few doubts about his religious orientation, practicing Judaism in private until he found a safe haven within the Jewish community of Kingston Jamaica, in 1680. However, Laguna's character was strongly shaped by his Converso background, as Fine reveals in her careful examination of his paraphrase of the Psalms of David. Fine studies the work within the context of Laguna's life as a "wandering *marrano*," unpacking its many layers of relevance to a community of Conversos and new Jews, who without speaking Hebrew were looking to maintain contact with their Jewish traditions. Laguna's paraphrase is pitched primarily at Conversos like himself, who had to exist in an atmosphere of tension and persecution while attempting to reconcile their Jewish and Spanish identities.

Fernão Ximenes de Aragão's *Catholic Doctrine*, first published in 1625, is also a Converso syncretic text, although in this case one that attacks rather than celebrates the Jewish religion and culture. Nevertheless, as Claude Stuczynski reveals, Ximenes de Aragão's work does not conform to traditional anti-Converso tracts. An analysis of the *Catholic Doctrine*'s text and para-text reveals the complex attitudes of an ambitious member of Portugal's New Christian elite, who wished to safeguard his own position in society at a time when attacks on the conversos were escalating.

Miguel Rodrigues' essay "Injurious Lexicon" also examines a member of the Portuguese Converso community in a period of increased Inquisition vigilance. Rui Pires, a merchant plying his trade among the Portuguese and Spanish colonies of the South China Sea, was pursued by the Inquisition in the late 1580s on the charge of Judaizing. Rodrigues uses the Pires case to examine the extent to which the Holy Office itself influenced the character of witness depositions. In areas where the Inquisition's organization was extensive and sophisticated, Rodrigues argues, witness reports tended to be circumscribed by Holy Office biases, conforming to a homogeneous institutional stereotype. In other areas, where the Inquisition was less ingrained in the society, depositions were more original and disparate. To illustrate his point, Rodrigues examines witness reports on Pires made before Inquisition officials in the cities of Manila, Macao and Nagasaki, all of which had experienced different degrees of Holy Office penetration.

Ignacio Pulido's "Atlantic Complicities" explores the reasons for the intensification of Inquisition activity against Portuguese Conversos in the Indies during the fourth decade of the seventeenth century. The official explanation for the increase in prosecutions was the growth of crypto-Judaism among

the Portuguese colonists and merchants. However, Pulido identifies other important reasons for the inquisitorial persecution: the Converso merchant community was wealthy, and this made it vulnerable to attack in a period of economic depression; it was also rumored to be conspiring with the Dutch against Spanish colonial interests, suggesting that the Inquisition prosecutions were motivated by political considerations. Pulido also notes that this wave of increased animosity towards the Portuguese Converso community had begun in the Iberian peninsula several decades earlier, when Church authorities in Spain and Portugal began to accuse the Spanish government of protecting a wealthy Converso (crypto-Jewish) merchant community to the detriment of Old Christian society. The actions of the Inquisition in the Americas would thus seem to have formed part of a wider campaign against Spanish government policy, particularly that of Philip IV's *privado*, the Count Duke of Olivares, known to be a protector of Portuguese businessmen.

In "Philip as the New Solomon," Kevin Ingram proposes that the humanist Benito Arias Montano promoted the image of Philip II as the wise Old-Testament king not in recognition of Philip's wisdom, but as a means of surreptitiously schooling the monarch in irenic statecraft. The ploy was copied from Philip's Dutch subjects, who had begun referring to Philip as Solomon even before he assumed the throne in 1555. However, Montano wished to promote toleration not only in the Dutch provinces but also in the peninsula, where Conversos were increasingly under attack by a Counter-Reformation Church and Crown. In emphasising Catholic Spain's religious and cultural links to the ancient Jews, the New Christian humanist Montano was encouraging Old Christian Spain to accept the Conversos as integral components of Spanish society. Ingram also discerns this secret agenda in Juan Bautista Villalpando's study *In Ezechielem Explanationes et Apparatus Urbis ac Templi Hierosolymitani*, in which the Jesuit also refers to the Escorial as a new Temple. Finally, Ingram compares Villalpando's and Montano's syncretic efforts with those of the Granada Lead Book fraudsters, who invented an early history of Christian Spain in which the contribution of Arab converts was paramount.

One of the main perpetrators of the Lead Books fraud, we now realize, was the Morisco physician and scholar Miguel de Luna, who worked as an Arabic translator at the Escorial library in the 1580s, before returning to his native city. Once here, Luna joined forces with other members of Granada's aggrieved Morisco elite, planting a series of inscribed lead discs on the Valparaiso hill, purportedly written by a first century Arab-Christian disciple of Saint James. Called upon to render the esoteric Arabic script into Spanish by an unwitting Bishop of Granada, Luna revealed that Arab Christians were, *inter alia*, the first martyrs in Spain and that the Virgin Mary had a special love for both the Arab

people and their language. In 1974 the arabist L.P. Harvey argued that Miguel Cervantes based Cide Hamete Benengeli, the fictional author of *Don Quijote*, on Luna. Since then a number of scholarly studies have endorsed this view. In "The Translator Luna . . .," Gerard Wiegers examines old and new evidence for Luna being the model for both Cide Hamete and the Toledan translator contracted by Cervantes to translate Hamete's work from Arabic to Spanish, in Book One of the famous tale.

The first part of *Don Quijote* was published just four years before Philip III signed the order to expel the Moriscos from Spain. Most of this dispossessed group gravitated towards the Islamic communities of North Africa, although some, like Cervantes' Ricote, took their chances within Europe, negotiating settlement with the French or Italian authorities. Asher Salah's essay, "An Attempted Morisco Settlement in Early Seventeenth Century Tuscany," examines the unsuccessful efforts of the Dukes of Tuscany to settle groups of Moriscos in the territory of Leghorn. Why did the Medici Duke Cosimo II consider receiving these New Christians, whose Christianity was known to be suspect? And why did the plan fail? Salah examines the Tuscan project against a background of early sixteenth century *politique* or reason of State. The Dukes were disposed to turn a blind eye to religious issues provided the immigrants were limited in number and prepared to dedicate themselves to agricultural enterprises alone. The scheme ultimately failed, however, because it offered the Moriscos little more than penury on land ill fitted for habitation or agricultural production.

Although evicted from Spain in 1609, the Moriscos continued to maintain a sinister presence within the Spanish culture. In "From Mooresses to Odalisques," Mercedes Alcalá-Galán examines the image of the Morisca in a pre- and post-expulsion society, noting that she was vilified to a greater degree even than her male counterpart. The Morisca's threat lay in her allure and in her fertility, allowing her to increase her own community while corrupting the host society. Alcalá-Galán studies two stereotypical representations of the Morisca: the base Mooress and the sensual, adorned, meretricious odalisque. Both are corruptors of Christian society. The lowly Mooress is tainted internally, despite the fact that she is often presented as being obsessed with bodily cleanliness. Indeed, her fixation on the body is an indication of her corruption, as is her legendary fertility, placing her on a par with the sow. As Odalisque, a depiction prevalent in post expulsion fiction, the Morisca becomes the exotic "other." But her beauty is skin deep, hiding a corrupt interior, or womb. She remains a debased vessel who merits Christian society's violent rejection.

In the final article of this collection, "This Thing Alone Will Preserve Their Nation . . .," Yosef Kaplan examines the importance of the circumcision ritual for

New Christians returning to their Jewish faith in the seventeenth century diaspora communities of Europe. Some Jewish authorities were in favor of waiving this requirement for men who converted as adults, anxious to increase the size of their congregations. Others saw it as a *sine qua non* of male Jewish identity, and demanded that all men subjected themselves to the ritual as proof of their religious sincerity. In their attempt to convince New Christians of the importance of the act, rabbis often presented it as a sacrament, equal to Christian baptism, without which a Jew would not enter heaven. However, the apostate Baruch Spinoza offered his own theory as to its importance. For Spinoza, it was a mark of difference, suggesting both the Jews' alienation from other nations and their uniqueness. While the ritual had no magical significance, it was nevertheless a unifying emblem, fundamental for the Jews' survival.

CHAPTER 1

A Forgotten Campaign against the Conversos of Sigüenza: Pedro Cortés and the Inquisition of Cuenca

Sara T. Nalle

On 16 October 1535, Inquisitor Pedro Cortés took possession of his new judgeship at the Tribunal of the Holy Office of Cuenca, where he would remain until his death twenty years later.[1] Prior to his arrival, the tribunal in Cuenca had been experiencing a slump in trials similar to that experienced by the Inquisition as a whole. Since its establishment in 1489, the tribunal had run through the Converso population of its district, prosecuting individuals for crimes against the faith as well as harassing Conversos who had risen to prominence in the region's society and government. In the 1520s, though, activity had dropped off from the highs achieved between 1516 and 1520, when on average the court tried sixty-four cases per year. Since then on average the tribunal was prosecuting only twenty-four new cases per year. Licenciate Cortés' arrival in 1535 rejuvenated the court as well as shifted its focus. For the better part of the next twenty years, the tribunal would dedicate itself almost exclusively to the persecution of the Converso communities in the Bishopric of Sigüenza, which made up the northern third of the tribunal's large district.[2] Under Cortés' leadership, the court identified as its singular quarry the descendants, both living and dead, of Jews from that region who had converted in 1492. Such were the court's extreme methods that at least two communities appealed to the Consejo de la Suprema, asking that it intervene to stop the tribunal's persecu-

1 Parts of this paper were presented at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association (New Orleans, Jan. 3–6, 2013). I wish to thank the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation and William Paterson University for their financial support, and Kevin Ingram for encouraging me to contribute to this collection.

2 On the personnel of the tribunal, see Víctor Sánchez Gil, "El tribunal de la Inquisición de Cuenca: notas para un catálogo de sus miembros (1489–1714)," *Archivo Ibero-Americano*, 40, Num. 157 (1980) pp. 3–36. For a general overview of numbers and types of *procesos*, see Rafael Carrasco, "Preludio al 'Siglo de los portugueses,' " *Hispania* XLVII/166 (1987), pp. 515–17. On the Converso oligarchies of the region see Pedro Luis Lorenzo Cadarso, "Esplendor y decadencia de las oligarquías conversas de Cuenca y Guadalajara (siglos XV–XVI)," *Hispania* LIV/186 (1994) pp. 54–94.

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tion of their families. Hundreds of individuals were convicted and many of them executed, including one Juan de Torres, the majordomo of Charles V's ambassador to Genoa, who fell victim to an extraordinary coincidence of bad timing and judicial malfeasance.

Prior to his posting to Cuenca Licenciate Pedro Cortés had worked for about two years in the Tribunal of Córdoba, made infamous twenty-five years before by Inquisitor Lucero's blood-soaked, lawless campaign against the Conversos of that district.[3] The subsequent history of the Córdoba tribunal is opaque, due to the loss of much of its documentation, particularly during the years that Cortés was attached to it.[4] However, several decades later Cortés' brief tenure in Córdoba brought praise from a well-informed local notable in his hometown of Tendilla, Guadalajara. Writing around 1580 for the *Relaciones topográficas* commissioned by Philip II, Juan Fernández de Sebastián Fernández recorded that Charles V, "impressed by [Cortés'] learning and virtue," had appointed him to Córdoba, where he dedicated himself to holding trials in the cities of Úbeda and Baeza. Fernández clearly was taken by Cortés' procedural methods; he writes, "[Cortés] drew up a registry of Moors and Jews, and the persons descended from them, from which he punished many heretics that he found guilty; the registry was extremely useful both for that time and this . . . ."[5]

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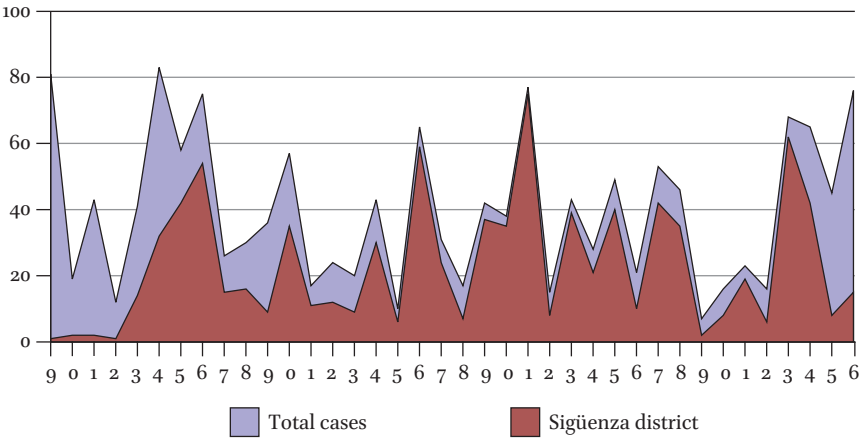
3 A full account of Inquisitor Lucero's reign of terror is given by J. Mesguer Fernández in *Historia de la Inquisición en España y América*, J. Pérez Villanueva and B. Escandell Bonet eds., Madrid, 1984, I: pp. 345–49.

4 According to Ana Cristina Cuadro García the loss of documents extends from 1516 to 1533. "Acción inquisitorial contra los judaizantes en Córdoba y crisis eclesiástica (1482–1508)," *Revista de historia moderna: Anales de la Universidad de Alicante*, Nº 21 (2003), p. 39, n. 12. Rafael Gracia Boix has tried to reconstruct the tribunal's history with his *Colección de documentos para la historia de la Inquisición de Córdoba*, Córdoba, 1982, and *Los autos de fe de la Inquisición de Córdoba*, Córdoba, 1983. No documentation from the years that Cortés was inquisitor in Córdoba appears in the volumes, nor in Pedro Andrés Porras Arboledas, *Las comunidades conversas de Úbeda y Baeza en el siglo XVI*, Jaén, 2008. Cortés' appointment in Córdoba overlaps with S. Juan de Avila's arrival in the city in 1535.

5 *Relaciones topográficas de España: Relaciones de pueblos que pertenecen hoy á la provincia de Guadalajara*, Juan Catalina García López and Manuel Pérez Villamil y García eds., Madrid, 1905, v. 43, p. 74. Google ebook, accessed 2 December 2012. I thank Dr. José Luis García de Paz for his personal communications with me and his website, "Rastros de la Inquisición en Tendilla (Guadalajara)" (http://www.uam.es/personal_pdi/ciencias/depaz/mendoza/tinquisidor.htm), which finally allowed me to find out more about this fascinating inquisitor. Just how Cortés, a beneficed parish priest, came to the emperor's attention is unclear, but must be due in part to the fact that his benefice was in the hand of the third Count of Tendilla, don Luis Hurtado de Mendoza, Captain General of Granada while Charles V honeymooned there in 1526. On Mendoza's career and friendship with the emperor, see Helen

GRAPH 1.1 *Trial Activity in the Inquisition of Cuenca, 1519–1556.*



Note: the graph represents the years in which trials were initiated. Spikes in the graph take place in years when autos-de-fe and/or visitas *were carried out.*

The exact equivalent of such a register has not yet turned up in the tribunal of Cuenca's papers, but it only took Cortés one year to have his prosecutor draw up a comprehensive list of eighty-three suspects he wanted arrested in the towns Atienza, Berlanga, Almazán, Medinaceli, and Sigüenza. In addition, new trials were to be opened on twenty-eight deceased individuals, mostly from Atienza. By the time of Cortés' death around 1555, the total of trials of Conversos from Sigüenza prosecuted under his tenure reached 572.[6]

To understand Cortés' campaign against the Conversos of Sigüenza, it is necessary to review what is known about the institutional history of the Inquisition in Cuenca. In the years since its foundation in 1489, Cuenca's Holy Office had undergone several reconfigurations of its district, culminating in the addition of the bishopric of Sigüenza to its portfolio in 1522.[7] In terms of their Converso populations, the two bishoprics were quite different. Before

Nader, *The Mendoza Family in the Spanish Renaissance*, 1350–1550, New Brunswick, 1979, pp. 196–98.

6 A list of names, dated 4 November 1536, organized by towns, appears in ADC Inq. leg. 159, exp. 1874, Thomas de Salazar (1541). The graph is based on Dimas Pérez Ramírez, *Catálogo del Archivo de la Inquisición de Cuenca*, Madrid, 1982, including the trials listed in the front pages of the catalogue. Trials are generally dated by the year of the auto-de-fe in which the prisoner appeared, but the *proceso* may have been initiated several years beforehand.

7 Pérez Ramírez, pp. 21–23. When Toledo relinquished its jurisdiction over Sigüenza, all of Sigüenza's papers were sent to Cuenca, giving the impression that the region had always formed part of Cuenca's circuit. Hence Carrasco's summary graph of the Holy Office's activity

1391, the bishopric of Cuenca harbored significant Jewish communities in the capital city and throughout La Mancha and the Alcarria; the same was true of the bishopric of Sigüenza. The difference lay in the fact that while it appears that most of Cuenca's Jews converted following the 1391 pogroms, many in Sigüenza did not. In 1492 the region still harbored several large *aljamas* in Sigüenza, Berlanga, Almazán, Atienza, and Medinaceli. These were precisely the same communities that would be targeted by Cortés in 1536. They had remained Jewish until the 1492 Expulsion Edict, and under the terms of the Edict of Grace granted at the time, the new converts were exempt from prosecution by the Inquisition for ten years.[8] In the 1490s the Tribunal of Sigüenza prosecuted mainly Conversos descended from those who had converted in the early fifteenth century, and then, following the court's incorporation with Toledo in 1507, for many years no one was prosecuted at all. In other words, since their forced conversion in 1492 down to 1522 the *nuevos convertidos de judíos* of Sigüenza had been left to worship as their conscience and wits dictated, with little to no interference from the Holy Office. In the years following Sigüenza's incorporation with Cuenca, Cuenca's inquisitors began to visit the district on a regular basis. At first, the inquisitors encountered a great deal of resistance to their presence as evidenced by the fact that so many trials from the 1520s involved persons who threatened, bribed or insulted its officials, hid suspects, or otherwise hindered the Inquisition's activities.

On his arrival in Cuenca, Cortés was presented with a scenario quite similar to that which he had found in Baeza and Úbeda, towns which, according to Cortés' admiring biographer Fernández, had never before been visited by the Inquisition and were full of recent converts from Islam and Judaism.[9] Cortés found that the *conquense* tribunal had begun to prosecute Sigüenza's Conversos, five one year, seventeen another, up to a maximum of twenty-three in 1534. Up until that point, trials had been generally short and relatively light sentences were handed out. This *modus operandi* would soon change. With no information about Cortes' university training or access to his record in Córdoba, it remains a matter of speculation to what degree his philosophy of jurisprudence was shaped by his experiences in the Córdoban tribunal. One cannot help but think that if Cortés were not already prejudiced against the Conversos when he arrived in Córdoba, he left there convinced that the Jewish converts to Christianity represented a "real and present" danger to society. The

("Preludio," p. 514) does not distinguish between cases prosecuted by the Tribunal of Sigüenza between 1487–1507, and those carried out by the inquisitors in Cuenca, 1489–1522.

8 On the Tribunal of Sigüenza, see C. Carrete Parrondo and María Fuencisla García Casar, *El Tribunal de la Inquisición de Sigüenza, 1492–1505*, Salamanca, 1997.

9 *Relaciones topográficas*, v. 43, p. 74.

abrupt change in the Tribunal of Cuenca's activity and procedures following Cortés' arrival is too striking not to suppose that some whiff of Lucero's ideas and methods traveled with the new judge to Cuenca.[10]

Graph 2 illustrates in dramatic fashion the changes in sentencing that took place under Cortés' tenure in Cuenca. Prior to his arrival, 21% of the residents of Sigüenza tried for Judaizing were sentenced to death, either in person ("relaxed1"), or less frequently, posthumously ("relaxed2"). Under Cortés, the number shot up to 42% – 16% being executed in person, and an astonishing *one quarter* posthumously.[11] Fully one third would be reconciled, while the use of milder sentences, including "not guilty" and suspensions, plummeted. In addition to the harsher sentences, under Cortés' leadership of the tribunal far more cases would drag on over the course of several years. Before his arrival, lengthy cases (as noted in the archive's catalogue) were rare. Between 1535 and 1555, on the other hand, long detentions of several years' duration became commonplace, involving at least one third of those arrested on Judaizing charges. The lengthy detentions, as we shall see, served a specific, sinister purpose: to break down prisoners' resistance to the inquisitors' unscrupulous methods, thereby allowing the classic witch-hunt scenario to emerge, whereby one forced confession would implicate several people, who in turn would implicate more people, in ever-widening circles.

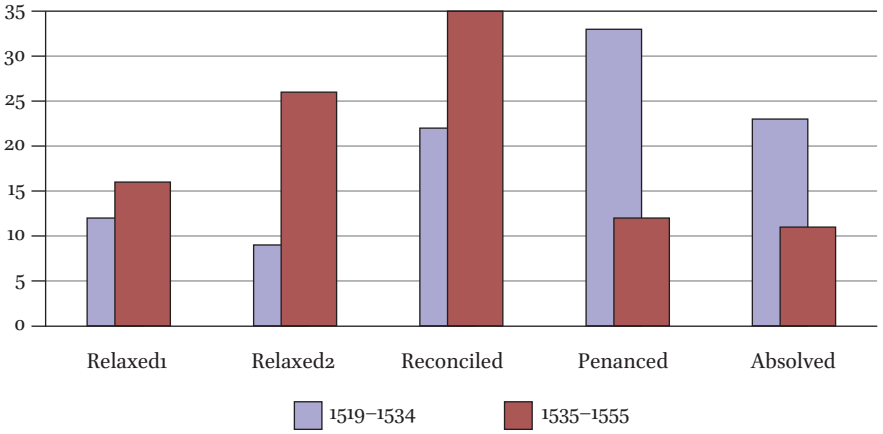
On face value the resulting "harvest" of Judaizers is quite impressive. Between 1530 through 1556, the court intercepted several "rabbis," uncovered the purported existence of several clandestine prayer groups known as "conventicles" in Sigüenza, Berlanga, Cifuentes, Medinaceli, and Almazán, and coerced confessions of Judaizing sufficiently incriminating to send seventy-two men and women to the stake (never mind those executed in effigy, another 106).[12] From the perspective of those who believed in the existence of large

10 As did some of the trials (and presumably the prisoners attached to them), which turn up frequently in the catalogue of *procesos* in Cuenca.

11 From the moment the tribunal assumed responsibility for Sigüenza in 1522, convictions were harsher than those meted out to Judaizers in the bishopric of Cuenca during the same time period. Two thirds of trials originating in Cuenca ended in penancing or absolution of guilt as opposed to 56% of those from Sigüenza. Posthumous convictions were not uncommon, in general, although Cortés' increased use of them, especially under the circumstances described, raises a red flag. Deceased individuals accused via false testimony were easy targets for the court, and thus a ready source of revenue.

12 It should be noted that all these Judaizing activities took place before 1530; in other words, as soon as the Inquisition of Cuenca resumed visitations in the 1520s, the activity disappeared. In addition, many of the implicated were those who had been born before 1492; by 1530 relatively few persons who had grown up as Jews were still alive.

GRAPH 1.2 *Sentencing for Judaizing in Sigüenza by Time Period (in percent)*



numbers of crypto-Jews who had to be forcibly separated from the body of faithful and punished, the campaign merited great praise. Again, a tribute from Cortés' admirer in Tendilla, Fernández de Sebastián Fernández:

> [Cortés] handed down many remarkable judgments in Cuenca and its district. He was the most upright judge and good Christian that there ever was in the Holy Office of the Inquisition; he judged the cases and sentences so dispassionately that he never passed down a sentence that, placed before the Council of the Inquisition, was ever annulled and revoked [. . . .] He found many persons guilty in Molina, Almazán, Soria, and Medinaceli. In Atienza he found guilty and confiscated for His Majesty the estate of a man who had more than 20,000 ducats. When Emperor Charles was in Valladolid he sent him more than 12 *arrobas* [138 kilograms] of silver in coin and pieces; the wealth of those he found guilty that he joined to the Royal Crown was in the extreme.[13]

Handing down justice and contributing to the royal fisc compete for equal prominence in Fernández's view of Cortés' campaign against the Judaizers of Sigüenza. But was Sigüenza in fact a hotbed of crypto-Judaism? Or, were many of the cases simply the result of brutal court tactics?

13 *Relaciones topográficas*, idem. In Cortés' defense, some of the rabbis and conventicles do seem to have existed. On the other hand, there is no doubt that others were invented by desperate prisoners.

It is not practical within the scope of this article to review the hundreds of trials that make up the court's activities under Cortés. However, the court's methods and results are severely thrown into doubt when one reviews the trial of one Juan de Torres (b. 1492), an employee of the royal ambassador to Genoa who was arrested while on a short visit to his wife in Torija (Guadalajara) around Christmas, 1537. Juan de Torres' family was one of the many literally wiped out by the tribunal: between 1538 and 1541 he and his wife were executed for Judaizing and his father and brother Gabriel, having died in prison during their trials, were relaxed posthumously. They were *nuevos cristianos de judíos*, that is, they belonged to the second wave of conversions to Christianity that took place after the 1492 Expulsion Edict. After conversion, the family appears to have moved up the social ladder. While Juan's father had been an apothecary, Juan described his profession as "none other than to serve the king and lords" and his brother Gabriel said his occupation was to live with the bishops of Sigüenza. Juan's maternal uncle had served the queen in Naples; Gabriel's two sons had found employment with Charles V's service in Genoa.

With the 1492 Expulsion Edict, many individuals in the district of Sigüenza chose to emigrate to Portugal, while others converted and stayed put. Some families clearly decided to hedge their bets by splitting up—some members converted to Christianity so they could remain in place with their property and business, while others, often children and women, trekked to Ciudad Rodrigo and then across the border until some decision was made about their ultimate destination and faith. Many of those who left eventually returned home.[14] Juan's older brother, Gabriel, was one of these returnees.[15] After 1492, the communities of *nuevos convertidos* continued on as before, practicing the same professions as had their forbears, intermarrying exclusively with other *nuevos convertidos*, and always residing in one of the old Jewish towns. Without a doubt, especially among the first generation that had grown up as Jews, some of them continued to practice their faith in secret. Gaspar de San Clemente, born circa 1502 in Sigüenza, for example, recounted to the inquisitors in great detail how his parents maintained contact with family members in Portugal,

14 The emigration and return of individuals from this region is the subject of my forthcoming article, "Cross and Cross Again: First-hand Accounts of 1492 Exiles' Return to Castile," in a volume to be edited by Yosef Kaplan. Particularly useful are Enrique Cantera Montenegro, "Notas acerca de la expulsión de los judíos en la diócesis de Osma (Soria). *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma, Serie III, H. Medieval*, t. 13, 2000, pp. 57–84 and Haim Beinart, *The Expulsion of the Jews from Spain*, Portland, Oregon, 2005.

15 ADC Inq. leg. 159, exp. 1866 (1537). Gabriel was Juan's half brother, born around 1477 to Jewish parents. He was relaxed in effigy in 1541, apparently having died in prison.

gradually indoctrinated him and his siblings as they reached puberty in the 1510s, and held secret prayer meetings in their home with others from Sigüenza.[16]

While in general the rate of assimilation among the *nuevos convertidos* was quite slow, occasionally one runs across families or individuals, like Juan de Torres, who decided to jump feet first into the wider world of Old Christians. After Juan was born in the town of Sigüenza, his father placed him with an Old Christian wet nurse who lived in one of the nearby villages. Note that at the time, it was believed that a wet nurse's milk transmitted her qualities to the baby.[17] Juan lived with the farmwife, suckling her Old Christian milk until he was three years old. After learning to read and write in Sigüenza, at age twelve Juan's father apprenticed him in Guadalajara to another apothecary, but the profession did not stick. For unknown reasons, Juan left after one year, went to Rome for about another year, and on his return to Castile, went back to Guadalajara, this time to serve in the houses of two *caballeros*. Serving knights apparently was a profession that suited Juan, because in 1510 he joined the King's Guard. For the better part of the next eight years, Torres was a soldier, fighting for Ferdinand the Catholic in Italy and Navarre, and then serving around New Castile in the private guard of the Marqués de Cañete.

During those eight years, however, Juan also found time to get married and to move to Torija, a *señorial* town in Guadalajara that belonged to the counts of Coruña, a branch of the Mendoza family.[18] Here he became the town's *escribano* and receiver for the second count of Coruña. It was a fateful move, because evidently Torres developed a taste for money, and in 1518 began to work farming tithes in the bishopric of Sigüenza. In 1520, he moved to the

16 These observations about the Converso families of Sigüenza are drawn from chapter two of my on-going book-length project, *Blood and Memory: Ethnic Identity and the Family in Spain, 1450–1700*. Gaspar de San Clemente was reconciled in 1540 (exp. 1772); his father, also named Gaspar, hanged himself in jail in March, 1536 and was relaxed in effigy in 1537 (exp. 1698). Key portions of Gaspar el Mozo's confessions are published in my article "Generational conflict in Converso families, 1492–1550," Early Modern Workshop: Jewish History Resources, wesscholar.wesleyan.edu/emw/emw2011/emw2011/7/.

17 Emily Bergmann, "Milking the Poor: Wetnursing and the Sexual Economy of Early Modern Spain," in Eukene Lacarra Lanz, ed., *Marriage and Sexuality in Medieval and Early Modern Iberia*, New York, 2002, pp. 90–116. The Torres family was breaking social taboos by placing the child with an Old Christian wet-nurse.

18 More specifically, of the Marquises of Santillana. The second count of Coruña was Bernardino Suárez de Mendoza (?–1534). The fourth count, Alonso Suárez de Mendoza, took over in 1536. His wife, Juana Jiménez de Cisneros y Zapata, was a niece of the famous cardinal (Juan Miguel Soler Salcedo, *Nobleza española, grandeza inmemorial*, Madrid, 2008, p. 426). They both testify as character witnesses in Juan de Torres' trial.

center of his tithe-farming district, Berlanga, and took on as his business partners two older *nuevos cristianos*, Juan de Buenaventura, Sr. and Lázaro Alvarez. After the partnership dissolved in acrimony and debt in 1524, Torres was rehired by the Count of Coruña as his majordomo. Then, in 1534, he somehow became the majordomo of the royal ambassador to Genoa, Gómez Suárez de Figueroa, the count of Feria.[19] In Genoa, Torres became a highly valued employee, serving an ambassador who was critically important to organizing the naval war blocking the Turks' expansion into the Western Mediterranean. With the help of a Genoese armada led by Andrea Doria, in June 1535, Charles V's forces recaptured Tunis from the Turks. It was a huge victory, and Juan de Torres was sent back to Castile to deliver the news of it to Empress Isabella. In November, 1537, Ambassador Figueroa sent Torres again to Spain, this time with dispatches for Charles V who was at that time meeting with the Aragonese *cortes* in Monzón. After delivering his dispatches, Torres visited Torija for a few days before continuing on to Valladolid, where in early December he met again with the emperor and an envoy from Barbarossa, the Turks' proxy admiral. His business finished, around Christmas Torres headed home to Torija, and straight into the arms of the Inquisition.

Torres was no stranger to the Inquisition. From 1532 to 1534 Torres spent two years in Cuenca locked up in the royal prison, litigating over debts he owed to the Inquisition. One of his former business partners in Berlanga, Lázaro Alvarez, had been arrested by the Inquisition in 1530 on Judaizing charges, and his property, including the debts that Torres still owed him, had been sequestered by the Inquisition. Meanwhile, unbeknownst to Torres, the Inquisition had kept a file on him going back to the summer of 1512, just after the twenty-year-old Torres had returned from the Battle of Ravenna. The very first accusation, delivered in 1513, was for swearing in a card game, "I disown God and his whole Passion!" (*"¡desadoro de dios y de toda su pasion!"*). Then, in 1528 someone in Berlanga denounced him on the suspicion that Torres and his friends were eating meat during Lent—but at a time when Torres no longer lived in the town. Two years later, in 1530, Torres' estranged business partner Lázaro Alvarez alleged that Torres had blasphemed while they were drinking, "Don't give me any of that wine they call 'By Saint Mary the whore, what bad wine!' instead [give] me the one they call "By the Devil, what good wine!' " (*"a mí no me den del vino que dicen '¡o hideputa Santa Maria qué mal vino!' sino de él que dicen, '¡o diablo, qué buen vino!'*). None of these denunciations had triggered

19 Suárez de Figueroa, count of Feria, was ambassador in Genoa from 1529 until his death in 1569. Miguel Ángel Ochoa Brun, *Historia de la diplomacia española*, Madrid, 1999, p. 227.

an arrest warrant for Torres.[20] In other words, these are hardly the sayings and actions of a dedicated crypto-Judaizer. Nor, as can be seen by the tribunal's lack of action, up until this point did the inquisitors think that Torres' religious crimes were worth pursuing, even though for two years the court was litigating with Torres over his debts and easily could have used the charges to pressure Torres into settling his account.

Caught up in the Inquisition's net in the 1530s were several of Torres' erstwhile business partners, their sons, and many acquaintances from Berlanga. When Inquisitor Cortés and his colleague Pedro Gongora took over the court late in 1535, they had no scruples about employing torture and leading questions to extract the information they wanted. In the earliest interrogations, Torres' former partners, who had every reason to destroy him, actually testified to his innocence or omitted him from their confessions. (Their testimony was sufficiently interesting, however, to cause Torres' name to be added to the list of persons to be arrested that was drawn up on 4 November 1536.) For example, Antonio López, not yet under torture, in October 1536 remembered that he and Torres were at their partner Buenaventura's house around 1520 to discuss the wool tithe, when Buenaventura began to speak in Hebrew to a fourth partner named Herrera. The latter two men had been born well before 1492, so knowing Hebrew was nothing out of the ordinary, although speaking it in 1520 was illegal and suspect. According to López, Torres' reaction to hearing Buenaventura speak in Hebrew was to exclaim, "he sure talks a lot, bad luck for us if we should understand, the devil brought us here to speak those things." Both Torres and López got up to leave, despite Buenaventura's blandishments that he was just talking about how the Old Testament prefigured the New, just like priests and educated men do.[21] Torres' "response was to say 'that he took them for asses that they should like Bible stuff and the words that Moses had said, and that the texts from the Old Testament would not be changed in this way.' "[22]

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20 ADC Inq., exp. 1839, ff. 12r–13r.

21 Juan de Buenaventura, Sr., tried posthumously, was found to be a "rabbi" and was burned in effigy in 1540 (exp. 1472). His son, Juan de Buenaventura el mozo, confessed to attending one of his father's conventicles around 1522 while home on summer vacation from the University of Salamanca. He lists several men who figure also in the testimony above—all except Juan de Torres (exp. 1825).

22 Antonio López, 2 October 1536. "... dixo el dho Jº de Torres a este qte habla mucho enoramala en cosa q entendamos sino el diablo nos traxo aquy para hablar esas cosas e q a esto dixo el dho jº de Buenaventura, por vida de mis hijos q lo q hablamos es en las cosas del testamento viejo q es figura del testamento nuevo e dezimos q moisen bien lo dezia e buen honbre era e ansy este qte y el dho Jº de Torres se levantaron de la mesa para se

Around the same time, in September 1536 the son of one of Torres' former business partners, Juan Alvarez, was tortured. He agreed to tell the inquisitors what they wanted if they would loosen the ropes. They asked him, " 'what is it that they did there in Juan de Buenaventura's house?' He said that they did what they're asking him, that praying and those things." He gave up six names, including Torres, and then exclaimed, "What do you want? That I say more? That the whole town was there?" After that session, Alvarez was allowed to stew in his cell to think about how to get out of his situation. One week later, he returned with a vile story about how as a teenager he had been madly in love with a married woman. Amazingly, her own husband, Torres, and another man had encouraged him by bringing him to their conventicles, which the woman attended as well, so that he could romance her. The inquisitors smelled a rat—this story tested even their credulity. On questioning, Alvarez admitted that one Fray Pedro de Orellana had helped him compose his confession.[23]

Now we enter into the truly tragic part of Juan de Torres' story. Fray Pedro de Orellana, an Old Christian from Trujillo (Extremadura) had first been arrested by the Inquisition of Cuenca in 1522,[24] and then was rearrested on charges of Lutheranism in 1531. Over the years he had been a defrocked friar, soldier, charismatic preacher, poet, and dedicated anti-Semite. He was altogether a completely unscrupulous and dangerous man, who had managed to become a fixture of the prison. After his second trial he had been condemned to perpetual imprisonment, a sentence that was rarely employed by the Inquisition. The "imprisonment" did not necessarily mean confinement in a cell, but could involve restricted movement around the city so that the inquisitors could keep a close eye on the individual.[25] Somehow, Orellana had access to the prisoners'

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salir y el dicho Jº de Buenaventura los bolvio e los hizo sentar y este qte les dixo y os juro a dios de no me juntar con vosotros sino hablays cosa q pueda entender e el dho Jº de Buenaventura e Garcia de Herrera volvieron a dezir las dhas palabras e a dezir q ante clerigos e letrados eran palabras q se podian dezir quanto mas ante este qte y el dho Jº de Torres q los tenia por asnos q si ellos gustasen las cosas de la blibia y las palabras q moisen avia dicho y testos del testamento viejo q no se alterarian ansi . . ." ADC leg. 155, exp. 1839 f. 27v.

23 Torres trial, ff. 21r–25v. The admission that Orellana helped him compose his confessions comes at the end, f. 25v.

24 Leg. 757, exp. 418 (Salmerón). Orellana's first arrest was for speaking against the Inquisition. The trial fragment appeared in the final cataloging of the tribunal's papers carried out by Dimas Pérez Ramírez and F. Javier Triguero Cordente, *Papeles sueltos de la Inquisición de Cuenca*, Cuenca, 1999.

25 Torres remembered that while he was a prisoner in the royal jail from 1532–34, he heard Orellana give a sermon in the cathedral in which he retracted his heresies—so neither man was strictly "locked up."

confidential trial papers, and knew everyone's business. In 1537, the tribunal decided to release Orellana with the usual warning to keep the Holy Office's vow of secrecy. Instead, Orellana did the exact opposite: he went straight to the district of Sigüenza and began selling information to the prisoners' families, who were desperate for news since some individuals had been held incommunicado for more than four years.[26] In January 1538 Orellana was arrested in Atienza, placed in leg irons, and housed with Torres, who also had just been arrested.

At first the two men got along: both had served as soldiers in Italy and were literate men of the world who had spawned several bastard children between them. The first day of their joint arrest, Torres observed that the adobe wall of their improvised prison cell was weak and could easily be breached. Orellana quickly went to work on the wall, and several nights later, the two men escaped, but made slow progress because of Orellana's chains. They were found a few hours after daybreak by some peasants. Torres could have escaped by himself that night, but was reluctant to leave Orellana behind.[27]

Torres and Orellana eventually were sent back to Cuenca, where, on account of the on-going hunt for crypto-Jews, the Inquisition's secret prisons were overcrowded. Orellana, Torres, and a third man, then a fourth, shared the same cell for several months. Relations between Orellana and Torres quickly soured, and then turned deadly. It is easy to see why: Orellana was a malevolent force inside the prison. He reported to the inquisitors what the prisoners said, duplicitously gave the men bad advice, and to top it off, then wrote anti-Semitic verses insulting them. In Torres' case, he claimed that Torres had confessed to him when they were together in Atienza in January, but he didn't get around to writing down the damning "confession" until July, seven months later. According to the other cellmates, Orellana routinely twisted what Torres said and did.[28]

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26 Eugenio Asensio Barbarin, "El maestro Pedro de Orellana, minorita luterano: versos procesos." In J. Pérez Villanueva ed., *La Inquisición española, nueva visión, nuevos horizontes,* Madrid, 1980, pp. 785–95. Asensio writes that Orellana claimed he spent three years with Martin Luther trying to convert him (p. 786). Asensio concludes, "jamás hubo franciscano menos aficionado a los votos de castidad y obediencia" and that "[a]ndariego y violento, gustaba de que le llamasen el Soldado" (p. 791). Miguel Jiménez Monteserín publishes some of Orellana's poetry with a lengthy introduction that manages to say virtually nothing about Orellana or his trial and silences Asensio's article. *Literatura y cautiverio. El Maestro Fray Pedro de Orellana en la Inquisición de Cuenca*, Cuenca, 2004.

27 Licdº Cortés interviewed Torres a few days after his escape while they were still in Atienza. At this early point, Torres seems to have not realized the danger he was in, since he did not abandon Orellana and his confession is unguarded.

28 "... estando en Atienza preso con Juan de Torres .... el dho Juan de Torres me dixo que me queria dezir vna cosa en secreto como a saçerdote pero no hizo nynguna solenidad de

To torment Torres, Orellana wrote over a page of insulting poetry, titled "Verses for a marrano that the Inquisition arrested, whose wife cries over him to the tune of Manuel Gonzalez," and then read it to his face.[29]

For the first eighteen months Torres' trial for Judaizing, apart from the Orellana wild card, proceeded like any other trial—the prosecutor presented his charges, Torres denied them, testimony was published and challenged, and witnesses for the defense were called. In September 1539, however, Cortés apparently decided to move the trial forward at a faster pace by turning eight witnesses from Berlanga against Torres. The procedure was the same with each. First, Cortés would ask the witness generally about activities that involved Torres without naming him, and would get no information. Cortés then would follow up with a direct question to the prisoner, which in each case still failed to elicit damning testimony. Cortés would let a few days pass, and suddenly the prisoner would start "singing," but the confession would be generic, with each instance of Judaizing being described in exactly the same way.[30] The eight witnesses' testimony implicating Torres is typical of confessions that have been obtained through torture and leading questions.

On 13 January 1540, after trying to defend himself against the new evidence, Torres composed a lengthy letter to the inquisitors condemning the horrific sanitary conditions in the prison, the humiliations the prisoners suffered, and the inquisitors' underhanded methods which altogether led the prisoners to say whatever lies which would get them released. Torres observed that the vermin-ridden cells were so crowded that the men could barely turn over in their beds; prisoners were forced to do all the work of cleaning, sweeping, carrying trash, and removing human waste, all the while tormented by the knowledge that their property had been sequestered and their children would grow up in poverty. As for their judicial methods, Torres accused the inquisitors of relying entirely on false evidence that had been extracted from the prisoners themselves, never asking for the specifics of where and when the alleged Judaizing took place, using the testimony of lower class ruffians to bring down honorable

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confesion y por esto la declaro desta manera . . . ." (ADC leg. 155, exp. 1839, f. 48r, 8 July 1538) Given Orellana's sociopathic behavior, anything he said or wrote, unless corroborated by someone else, must be taken as false. Chances are he made the entire "confession" up after the two men became enemies. In December 1540, the inquisitors sentenced Orellana to solitary confinement, where he stayed for the next twenty years until he went insane. The inquisitors were so afraid of him that they did not even tell Orellana his sentence (Asensio, pp. 786; 793).

29 The verses appear in ff. 119r-v of Torres' trial. See Appendix for the full text. Orellana is referring to a well-known tune, which I have not been able to identify.

30 Exp. 1839, ff. 133r–38r; 155r–94r (5–23 Sept. 1539).

men, and never looking beyond the prison walls to interview the Old Christian servants who worked in the houses where the Judaizing supposedly took place. Worst of all, just when a prisoner thought that he had successfully defended himself against the charges (here Torres is clearly thinking of his own situation), the inquisitors would come up with new false witnesses and invented testimony that had to be fought through all over again.[31]

Torres languished in Cuenca's secret prisons for another six months without any action being taken. In June 1540, Torres came up with a new set of questions for the witnesses in his case, but the inquisitors sat on them, leaving Torres to stew in his cell for yet another full year. Abruptly, on 8 June 1541, the tribunal's members voted to close Torres' case and sentenced him to death at the upcoming auto-de-fe of 16 August. Desperate to save his own life, Torres finally resorted to the same strategy that he had condemned in other prisoners: he asked for the court's mercy and perjured himself. Over the course of several audiences from 22 August to 17 September Torres wove his confession, describing how Juan de Buenaventura had approached him while they were on a business trip, then introduced him to his congregation, and how Torres had attended various conventicles, culminating in allowing one to be held in his own house. Throughout the confession, he tried to maintain some scrap of his Christian faith by asserting that when he was attending a conventicle he believed in Judaism, but once he left, his faith in Christianity returned. Torres' confession did not win the mercy he had hoped from the court, and on 20 September for the second time the tribunal voted to apply the death penalty, rather than to allow Torres to be reconciled to the faith. This turn of events led to a surprising final twist in Juan's case. In the days leading to the auto-de-fe of 29 September, Torres composed a lengthy statement in which he retracted point-by-point all of his confessions. He condemned his testimony as false and coerced and appealed to the Suprema that no one should be found guilty on the basis of anything he said. Finally, although he was not worthy, because of his unjust sentence, he concluded he would die a Christian martyr.[32] Torres

31 ADC Inq., exp. 1839, ff. 225r–30v.

32 Describing the first auto at which he was sentenced to die (16 August 1541) Torres writes, "yo estando en el dho cadahalso considerando entre mi como me condenavan a muerte sin culpa por lo qual yo avia de dar muchas graçias a dios nro sᵒr por tan gran merçed como me azia en q yo rreçibiese martiryo estando ynoçente y syn culpa . . ." but "yo fui tan ynportunado de frayles y clerygos e personas muy prinçipales e del sᵒr luis carrillo de albornoz e del sᵒr don gaspar de mendoça e del sᵒr don luys carrillo hijo mayor del conde de pliego e tanto yzieron conmygo para q me diese a la miserycordia q yo no pude fazer sino darme e assi . . . a los veynte e dos dias del dho mes de agᵒ yo subi a la sala donde los

then folded the letter up, and at the auto-de-fe on 29 September, hid it in his hand while he was being led up the stairs into the stands. When he passed by Pedro Cortés, he cried out to be heard, and when Cortés gestured to him to be silent, he literally threw his final words at Cortés' feet.[33] Despite this dramatic charade, the ceremony proceeded as scheduled and Torres was executed later that day.

The reason for the court's sudden termination of Torres' case probably was related to the timing of the autos-de-fe. Customarily, the Inquisition preferred to hold prisoners until all could be paraded forth in an impressive public ceremony. Sixty-nine persons were sentenced in 1541, most of them appearing in the August auto-de-fe. But, there may have been an additional reason for pushing Torres' case through—the tribunal's extreme conduct had come to the notice of the Supreme Council of the Inquisition. First, in 1537 the townspeople of Atienza had protested the Inquisition's harsh treatment of their family members.[34] Next, the citizens of Berlanga appealed in April 1540 to the Suprema in Madrid. Finally, the town of Almazán submitted a similar appeal in May 1542.

The appeals from Berlanga and Almazán are quite similar; it is more than likely that the two communities exchanged information since the solicitor for a resident from Berlanga lived in nearby Almazán. Berlanga's appeal was the most concerted effort to get the Suprema's attention. The appeal first began as one individual's attempt to bring his case to the Suprema. Next came a report from one Dr. Torres who summarized the legal questions in several of the cases from Berlanga and argued in Latin the merits of taking jurisdiction over these cases away from the Inquisition of Cuenca. Then followed a letter from the townspeople of Berlanga addressed to the Inquisitor General asking for quick justice, another letter from the Constable of Berlanga, who served in the queen's household, and even a formal list of questions to be put to witnesses about the unorthodox nature of the Berlanga prisoners' trials. The people of Berlanga, echoing Juan de Torres's complaints, alleged that their relatives had been held in prison for so long that they had turned against each other, forming cabals and factions, and had lied under oath to destroy their enemies or to avoid being tortured.

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dhos señores ynqsidores hazen abdi[a] e alli ante sus Rr[a]s . . . dixe y despuse" that he had committed all of the Jewish heresies of which he was accused (f. 263r–v).

33 Torres' actions at the auto-de-fe are described by the notary, and the letter is sewn into the last pages of his trial. Torres' death sentence seems harsh, as he had no prior convictions.

34 ADC Inq., exp. 1667.

The barrage of letters actually got the Suprema's attention. In April 1540, the Inquisitor General, Cardinal Tavera, instructed the council to look into some of the allegations, such as that once sentenced and freed, several individuals from Berlanga had taken back their confessions. On 29 June, the Suprema wrote to the Cuenca tribunal noting that "certain citizens of Berlanga and from other parts of your district" had come to Madrid with various petitions, and ordered the inquisitors to look into their complaints. (This is like asking the fox to mind the chickens!) More interestingly, "for the satisfaction of those people" the Suprema ordered the court to pick the two cases from Berlanga with the most witnesses involved and to send them to the Inquisition of Toledo for impartial review "as has been done before." Cuenca appears to have sat on this command, for nothing more appears in the folder until 22 May 1542, when the citizens of Almazán mounted their own protest, pointedly asking what happened to the petition from Berlanga. Both memorials presented by Almazán were dismissed by the *conquense* inquisitors. Their justification: they would do nothing because the memorials did not name any witnesses to be questioned, and with that, the protests were shelved.[35]

In a previous publication, I once noted Pedro Cortés' humane treatment of one mentally disturbed individual, the wool carder Bartolomé Sánchez, and the extraordinary lengths to which he went in order to understand his prisoner and ultimately save his life. From the perspective of Cortés' employer, the Consejo de la Suprema, he also was a highly valued judge.[36] Trials conducted by Cortés invariably contain far more information than those carried out by his colleagues; Cortés seemed to have a certain talent for conducting investigations that led to a complete profile of his prisoners. Unfortunately, as I have shown in this article, Cortés' humanitarian impulses completely evaporated when there was any question of Judaizing, to be replaced by the ruthless pursuit of crimes against the Catholic faith. In the same publication, I also noted that between 1553 and 1555 Pedro Cortés was actively seeking retirement, complained about the small stipend the Suprema first offered him, and was absent from the court for long stretches of time (I supposed for reasons of health). Instead, the truth is entirely different! According to an article published in 2009, Pedro Cortés had an illegitimate son in Tendilla who in 1553 had applied for admission to the prestigious Colegio Mayor de San Bartolomé at the University of Salamanca. Evidently Cortés traveled to Tendilla

35 ADC Inq., exp. 1799.

36 Sara T. Nalle, *Mad for God: Bartolomé Sánchez, the Secret Messiah of Cardenete*, Charlottesville, Virginia, 2001.

or Salamanca to promote his son's case, which ultimately failed because the Colegio's governors found that the young man was too rich.[37]

In the end, these depressing pages from the history of the Holy Office in Cuenca are a blunt reminder of the ineluctable character of the institution and much of the nation in the sixteenth century. When Conversos were involved, anything was possible. Cortés and his associates were never held accountable for their campaign against the Conversos of Sigüenza, which resulted in at least seventy-two men and women being sent to their deaths, some of whom, even by the standards of the day, were innocent. Instead, the inquisitors' work was admired and praised by the Old Christian majority. Until Inquisitor General Cardinal Valdés instituted wide-ranging reforms of the Inquisition in the 1550s that made such wholesale death sentences impossible, how many other Jew hunts were there? Unfortunately, the loss of most of the tribunals' records, which allow the historian to examine the evidence and procedural methods employed in the trials, makes impossible such revisions as have been presented here, and we can only imagine what other cases might have transpired across Spain.

Appendix. Fray Pedro de Orellana's Anti-Semitic Verses[38]

COPLAS A UN MARANO Q[UE] PRENDIO la inquisicion y llorale su muger al tono de Manuel Gonçalez d'esta manera.
Hola, de halico[39]
hola, malogrado
hola, el mi duelo
hola, el rretajado
hola, la mi guaya
quien vos [h]a guayado.
Nieto de mosico

37 Baltasar Cuart Moner, "Un candidato rechazado por rico: Juan Cortés," in Luis Enrique Rodríguez San Pedro Bezares and Juan Luis Polo Rodríguez eds., *Universidades hispánicas: colegios y conventos universitarios en la Edad Moderna* (*I*), Salamanca, 2009, pp. 60–61. Apart from his inquisitor's salary, Cortés had three benefices near Tendilla and enjoyed 1,000 *fanegas* of income from extensive olive orchards and vineyards that he had inherited from his father. He was so rich, in fact, that he could afford to give his son Juan an annual stipend of 50 ducats, a considerable sum of money in 1553.

38 My thanks to Anne J. Cruz for her assistance with the language of these verses.

39 Diminutive of "*halo*"?

sobrino de Jayro[40]
fijo de Jamila[41]
y del boticario[42]
primo de don Jacob
de capico[43] hermano
sangre de bufanillo[44]
colora de pato
flema de atunejo
cabeça de gato
ojos de besugo
nariz de milano
coraçon de morçilla
pecho astomagado[45]
pies de interrogantes
de letra de [h]abraico
piernas de vencejo
barriga de grajo
gordo como puerco
vuto de marrano.
¡Ay mi Judiyto!
¡Ay mi Judiazo!
Nalgas de panadero
boca d'escaravajo[46]
tripa de adafina[47]
cuero adafinado
alma de galvançuelo
higado adobado
bofes d'especivela[48]
De caçuelas quajo

40 Jairo, personal name from the Hebrew "ya'ir," God wants to shine.
41 Arabic name, meaning "beautiful."
42 Torres' father was an apothecary.
43 Diminutive noun derived from *capar*, to castrate?
44 Diminutive of "*búfano*," alt. of *buey*.
45 Variant of "*estomagado*."
46 I.e., "*de escarabajo*."
47 "*Adafina*," sabbath stew.
48 Lungs which are dried, seasoned, and then fried.

rredaño de harinillas[49]
pico de rrendajo[50]
mi saca de paja
barva d'estropajo.
¡Ay mi lanparero
tan avinagrado
manos de vaçinilla
cuero enaseytado
velo de la tora
y del talmud palio
bote de manteca
bollo mantecado!
¡Ay del mi morcom[51]
rrelleno de lardado!
¡Ay mi pepitoria
quajada con rrancio!
¡Ay el mi obispillo
tan enpanarado!
¡Ay el mi rrelleno
tan enjañarado!
¡Ay mi queso fresco
todo albondigado!
¡Ay mi mayor duelo—
¿quien vos [h]a gafado?
¡Ay mi bota llena,
tonel enpipado!
¡Ay mi savandija,
qué negro aguinaldo!
¡Ay el mi pipote
taco maltallado!
¡Ay mi ginoves![52]
¿quien vos [h]a engañado?
Venistes por lana

49 *Redaño* is the membrane between the intestines and stomach; "*harinillas*" are wheat middlings, including bran.

50 I.e., "*arrendajo*," bluejay.

51 "*morcón*," casing for large sausage.

52 Torres lived in Genoa, hence he was a "*ginoves*."

tornais tresquilado[53]
cargado como abeja
mas [h]a nos caçado
como araña a mosca
la sangre chupado.
¿Quien vos fizo alcalde
y negro soldado
siendo sinoguero
siendo salmonado
de pies a cabeça
judio cuytado
de dentro y de fuera
con esto enforrado
tuetanos y cañas
la casa y tejado?
¿Que fare, mi duelo?
¿Donde yre, mi llanto,
con el cristianillo
de Gomez de Prado
que vos tiene preso
que nos [h]a enlodado?
¡Ay q[ue] negra pascua!
¡Que fosco rrezado!
¡Que negro meldar[54]
mas que en pez piñado![55]
¡Que negra berlanga[56]
como aberlangado!
¡Ay q[ue] negro dia
m'estava guardado!
¡Q[ue] hijo de padre
que ansi l['h]a ymitado!
¡Ay q[ue] neçios dexaran!
Bien [h]avias rrobado
engañando al mundo
mejor cohechado

53 Variant of "*trasquilado*."
54 "*Meldar*," in this context, to daven, or "*sabadear*."
55 "*Pez piñado*," pine pitch?
56 Reference to the town where Torres allegedly Judaized.

boca de mentiras.
¡Que negro bocado!—
de tragalle [h]avramos
aunq[ue] mafogado.
Fuistes vos fuyendo
venistes callando
guayas del aljama
q[ue] os [h]an espiado.
Nunca aca viniera
lo q[ue] [h]aveis llegado.
Venistes ayer
ay vos [h]an llevado
como la hormiga
[h]aviais endurado
ansi como el topo
[h]aviais ercarvado.[57]
Vino el aguaducho
todo lo [h]a llevado.
¡Mira quien tal vido!
Por [h]aver rrezado
con otros abuelta
en modo Judaico.
¡Mira q[ue] nonadas,
ya lo veis, miralo!
Guardaos de la mitra
daqu'ese obispado
mas vale alma tiquilla
con aspa enaspado
aunque sea amarilla
y con colorado
qu'esta es la encomienda
q yo a vos [h]e [e]sperado.
¡Jesus, q[ue] me fino!
¡Jesus, que me paspino!
¡Jesus, q[ue] me muero!
¡Valasme san Jaco!
¡Valame Moysen
con este disanto!

57 "*Ercarvado*," e.g. "*escarbado*."

¿q[ue] fara m'açota
con este descanso?
tornad vos intanelo
a v[uest]ro ser pasado
y faze vn arnes
d'un buche arreado
de vaca o carnero
con perexil dorado
y con las tripillas
mui engoçetado
conprad vna lança
de paja o mostazo
faze d'una caña
vn rrico cavallo
la silla de borra
el freno de ogaño
fecho de prima nuera
vaya mui cinchado
con dos longanizas
todo enpretalado
las aciones fuertes
de sesos d'un asno
estribos de pesuñas
d'un buey desollado
espuelas de panfue
o plumas d'un gallo
corramos la tora
que nos [h]a bufado
con esta librea
que ya vos [h]e dado
diziendo fo fo
da fuera apartado
porque segun bufa
todo es secrestado
y [h]an antes de mucho
sera confiscado.
¡Ay el mi torillo![58]
¡Ay el migar vanco!

58 E.g., person from La Torija, Torres' hometown.

¡Ay mi buho fino!
bahaui afamado
faneco sin alas
q[ue] avn no esta mudado
metido en la muda
saldra desplumado
de las plumas viejas
con las de cristiano.
Fim

CHAPTER 2

Iberians before the Venetian Inquisition

Gretchen Starr-LeBeau

Recently, scholars have turned their attention in a more focused way to the Converso diaspora—the spread of Jewish converts to Christianity and their descendants across Europe and the Mediterranean, and across the Atlantic.[1] The experiences of this far-flung group—dispersed across the early modern world but linked by ties of religion, language, commerce, and Iberian ancestry—are not only fascinating in their own right, but are also revealing of the diversity of attitudes of the various communities that hosted them.

This is particularly true in regard to the experiences of Iberians before early modern Inquisitions. A number of Inquisition courts, some connected institutionally, others borrowing techniques and procedures of institutionally distinct courts, spread across the early modern Mediterranean, into northern Europe through Spanish control of the Low Countries, as well as across the Atlantic and into Asia.

An examination of Iberians tried in inquisitorial courts abroad promises to shed light on the expatriate Iberian community, even as it underlines the distinctiveness of various Inquisition courts. This essay focuses particularly on one of the best-documented Inquisition courts in the Italian peninsula: the

1 See for example Daviken Studnicki-Gizbert, *A Nation upon the Ocean Sea: Portugal's Atlantic Diaspora and the Crisis of the Spanish Empire, 1492–1640*, Oxford, 2007; Jonathan Israel, *Diasporas within a Diaspora: Jews, Crypto-Jews, and the World of Maritime Empires, 1540–1740*, Leiden, 2002; and Richard L. Kagan and Philip D. Morgan eds., *Atlantic Diasporas: Jews, Conversos, and Crypto-Jews in an Age of Mercantilism, 1500–1800*, Baltimore, 2008. Also useful is the special issue of *Jewish History*, vol. 25, no. 2 (2011) on Portuguese New Christian Identities, 1516–1700, edited by David Graizbord and Claude B. Stuczynski. For a discussion of a sense of Iberian identity among Portuguese Conversos in Amsterdam, see Miriam Bodian, *Hebrews of the Portuguese Nation: Conversos and Community in Early Modern Amsterdam*, Indianapolis, 1999; Matt Goldish, *Jewish Questions: Responsa on Sephardic Life in the Early Modern Period*, Princeton, 2008; Kim Siebenhuner, "Conversion, Mobility, and the Roman Inquisition in Italy around 1600," *Past & Present*, no. 200 (2008), pp. 5–35; Federica Ruspio, *La nazione portoghese. Ebrei ponentini e nuovi cristiani a Venezia*, Turin, 2007; Bruno Feitler, *Inquisition, juifs et nouveaux-chrétiens au Brésil: le nordeste XVII^e^ et XVIII siècles*, Louvain, 2003. The author would also like to thank the American Philosophical Society for a Sabbatical Fellowship in 2011 that gave her the time necessary to write this essay.

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Holy Office of the Most Serene Republic of Venice. An examination of trial records there demonstrates that Iberians and those of Iberian descent found in the Venetian Inquisition an institution that identified Judaizing as a more peripheral concern. Furthermore, the context in which this Inquisition court operated was different from Iberian Inquisitions, since the Holy Office shared the city with an active Jewish community, which could provide comfort to people of the "Portuguese Nation" and was itself only indirectly under the jurisdiction of the Roman Inquisition. As a result, Iberians found Venice to be a place where the concerns of the inquisitors varied from those of the officials and institutions that they might have known on the Iberian peninsula, often to their benefit.

A brief note may be in order to explain what, precisely, is meant by "Iberians." Although some of these Iberians were natives of Spain and Portugal, others considered themselves Iberians even though they were natives or longtime residents of Pisa, Florence, Venice, or Antwerp. These people explained their connections to Iberia through their common language, customs, and religious beliefs. This was particularly true of the self-titled "Portuguese Nation," *a nação*, Portuguese converts from Judaism to Christianity and their descendants, who had begun to flee Portugal in the 1530s as the Portuguese Inquisition began to target them in particular. Most Iberians in Venice were part of this international Portuguese émigré Converso community, recently well studied by Federica Ruspio. But Venice also welcomed other Iberian merchants and so-called "Old Christian" immigrants.[2] In this regard, Iberian immigrants in

2 Judging by the nineteenth-century index of the Venetian Holy Office, only one of the Iberians tried by the Holy Office in Venice was not a Portuguese Judaizer (see index 303 at the Archivio di Stato di Venezia [ASV]). Indeed, the association in the minds of many between "Portuguese émigré" and "Judaizer" was as true in the Venetian Republic as it was throughout the Mediterranean and the Low Countries (see for example Jonathan Israel, *Diasporas within a Diaspora*, Miriam Bodian, *Hebrews of the Portuguese Nation*, and David Graizbord, *Souls in Dispute: Converso Identities in Iberia and the Jewish Diaspora, 1580–1700*, Philadelphia, 2004. The lone exception was an immigrant from Spain, not Portugal, who was tried and penanced with a priest companion for reciting healing prayers, collecting alchemical recipes, and divining answers to questions about the past, present, and future. (See ASV Santo Uffizio busta 31, fascicolo originally numbered 15, trial of Alfonso Spagnuolo). He differed from the other Iberians brought before the Venetian Holy Office, not only in country of origin, but also in occupation; he had no connections to the trade activities that marked Portuguese Converso activity across Europe and the Mediterranean. Alfonso also seemed to have had less education than most Judaizers brought before the Holy Office. Finally, neither the Venetian inquisitors nor the Spanish consular officials who interviewed him about his background accused him of being a Converso.

Venice reflected the diversity of the city as a whole, an entrepôt that brought traders from the eastern and western Mediterranean, and from northern and southern Europe. Venice was also a city with significant mainland territories and a close political and cultural relationship with its western European neighbors, including Spain.[3]

Early Modern Inquisitions in Venice, Italy, and Iberia

To understand the experiences of Iberians in Venice, a preliminary word of explanation about inquisitorial courts may be helpful. Early modern Inquisition courts differed from inquisitorial prosecutions of the medieval period. The inquisitorial, or investigative, method was developed in the twelfth and thirteenth century in the prosecution of heresy, particularly in southern France.[4] Inquisitorial legal procedure differed from the (at that time standard) accusatorial procedure in two important ways. First, the burden of investigation fell to the judge, who also decided the case. Second, courts and judges were not limited to waiting until they received a formal accusation from an aggrieved party. Instead, a person's public reputation, *fama*, could be considered in itself an accusation, freeing inquisitors—whether bishops or papal legates—to act against those perceived heretics in the community without a traditional accusation. But medieval inquisitions, though forming a foundation for early modern inquisitorial courts, were not entirely the same as that later counterpart. Early modern courts were more regularized, and more bureaucratized. They operated under the aegis of a state power, as in the case of Spain (founded in 1478) and Portugal (founded in 1536). These states also established similarly organized courts in territories under their jurisdiction, including American territories; Mediterranean territories such as southern Italy; and Goa in Asia. In much (but not all) of the rest of Italy inquisitions were established under the authority of Pope Paul III in 1542, by the bull *licet ab initio*. This was a less

3 For an overview of the links between the Iberian and Italian peninsulas, and particularly in the context of the Venetian empire, see John Jeffries Martin, "The Venetian Territorial State: Constructing Boundaries in the Shadow of Spain" in Thomas James Dandelet and John A. Marino eds., *Spain in Italy: Politics, Society, and Culture, 1500–1700*, Leiden, 2007.

4 For some recent scholarship on the development of these procedures and courts, see Christine Caldwell Ames, *Righteous Persecution: Inquisition, Dominicans, and Christianity in the Middle Ages*, Philadelphia, 2009; John H. Arnold, *Inquisition and Power: Heresy and the Confessing Subject in Medieval Languedoc*, Philadelphia, 2001; James B. Given, *Inquisition and Medieval Society: Power, Discipline, and Resistance in Languedoc*, Ithaca, 1997; Mark Gregory Pegg, *The Corruption of Angels: The Great Inquisition of 1245–1246*, Princeton, 2001.

complicated process in the Papal States proper, and a more complicated one when the Pope had to negotiate with local secular authorities. Some states gave the Papal Inquisition leave to operate relatively unchecked, but Venice was a unique case. Wishing to avoid papal authority over heresy prosecutions in the Most Serene Republic, Venice established its own body for prosecuting heresy, the *tre savi all'eresia*. Yet the three men of this group functioned in a secondary, advisory role to an inquisitor appointed by the Pope. The Venetian Holy Office, then, was a mixed jurisdiction: not quite under papal authority but not independent, either.[5] Early modern inquisitorial courts also differed in some procedural questions from their medieval predecessors. Most notably, following Spain's example, prosecution witnesses testified anonymously, to protect them from retaliatory acts by those they accused. Yet precisely how those various Inquisition courts operated, and their attitude toward Iberians, could differ significantly.[6]

Those of Iberian descent who settled in Venice found themselves subject to an Inquisition court, though not precisely the kind of court they would have faced in Spain or Portugal. As mentioned above, the Holy Office in Venice was affiliated with the Roman Inquisition, though there had also been an episcopal Inquisition operating in Venice through the fifteenth century. These politically appointed observers set Venice apart from other cities on the Italian peninsula, though the effect of their interventions varied.[7] Whatever the peculiarities of

5 For more on this topic, see Anne Jacobson Schutte, *Aspiring Saints: Pretense of Holiness, Inquisition, and Gender in the Republic of Venice, 1618–1750*, Baltimore, 2001, pp. 26–41; Christopher F. Black, *The Italian Inquisition*, New Haven, 2009, p. 27; and Andrea del Col, "Organizzatione, composizione e giurisdizione del tribunali dell'Inquisizione romana nella repubblica di Venezia (1500–1550)," *Critica storica* 25 (1988), pp. 244–94.

6 Most comparative work on early modern Inquisitions is available in collected volumes of essays. See for example Gustav Henningsen and John Tedeschi, eds., with Charles Amiel, *The Inquisition in Early Modern Europe: Studies on Sources and Methods*, De Kalb, 1986; Angel Alcalá, ed., *The Spanish Inquisition and the Inquisitorial Mind*, New York, 1987; Bartolomé Bennassar, *La Inquisición española: Poder politico y control social*, Barcelona, 1984. Most useful is Francisco Bethencourt, *L'Inquisition à l'époque moderne. Espagne, Italie, Portugal, XV^e–XIX^e siècle*, Paris, 1995; translated into English and slightly revised as *The Inquisition: A Global History, 1478–1834*, Cambridge, 2009. The English translation is particularly useful for the historiographical essay added to this edition.

7 The relative importance of this committee and of the independence of the Venetian Holy Office from Roman influence has been much debated, though it seems not to have impeded the court's activity overmuch. For an overview, see Brian Pullan, *The Jews of Europe and the Inquisition of Venice, 1550–1670*, Totowa, NJ, 1983, pp. 38–44.

the Venetian court relative to other Roman inquisitorial courts, however, the fact remains that all Roman courts shared some notable differences with their Iberian counterparts. Unlike Iberian Inquisition courts, for example, Roman Inquisitions did not hold *autos-de-fe*; and sentencing practices differed in general. Fewer people were executed for their crimes, and those executions which did take place were by drowning, rather than hanging or burning at the stake.[8]

Iberians would also have found an Inquisition court with different priorities than the ones they left behind in Iberia. Given its location near the boundary between Catholic and Protestant Europe, Venetian inquisitors were particularly concerned with Huguenots and other Protestant heresies; scandalous and heretical propositions were also investigated. By the end of the sixteenth century witchcraft became an increasingly central focus of Inquisition prosecutions. But Judaizing generated significantly less interest among Venice's inquisitors than their Spanish and Portuguese counterparts.[9]

While coercive, and potentially dangerous to the accused, the Venetian Holy Office was certainly less lethal than the Inquisition courts these Iberians had left behind in Spain and Portugal. The Venetian Inquisition was also, despite its institutional and administrative differences, linked to the Iberian Inquisition courts. The inquisitors in Venice could write to their Portuguese and Spanish counterparts if the need arose, and expect those courts to provide information on whether a particular individual had been investigated or not, or even to interview local witnesses on their behalf. That cross-court cooperation could be most dangerous. Lisbon inquisitors on more than one occasion sent copies of files and interviewed several witnesses for the Venetian Holy Office, as for example when they helped build a case against Abram Righetto.[10]

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8 Bethencourt has an excellent discussion of the differences between these courts in Francisco Bethencourt, *The Inquisition: A Global History, 1478–1834*, Cambridge, 2009. For more on the operation of the Venetian Inquisition, see John Martin, *Venice's Hidden Enemies: Italian Heretics in a Renaissance City*, Berkeley, 1993; Ruth Martin, *Witchcraft and the Inquisition in Venice, 1550–1650*, Oxford, 1989; Anne Jacobson Schutte, *Aspiring Saints*; and Pullan.

9 Christopher F. Black, *The Italian Inquisition*, New Haven, 2009, pp. 260–265.

10 Brian Pullan, " 'A Ship with Two Rudders': Righetto Marrano and the Inquisition in Venice," *Historical Journal* 20 (1977): pp. 25–58.

Inquisitorial Anxieties in Venice

Not all those accused of Judaizing by the Venetian Inquisition were of immediate Iberian descent. Some were Italian Jews who had converted to Christianity in the years before their trials. A few were converted Jews of German descent, or converted Levantine Jews from cities such as Salonika, whose Iberian ancestry was probable but significantly more remote. In a very few cases not converts but Jews came before the Holy Office. But a plurality, if not an outright majority, were Iberian Conversos. In Spain, prosecutions for Judaizing peaked in the first phase of activity between the 1480s and 1520s, when Spain gained control of Portugal in the 1580s, and again in the 1630s and 1640s. The same pattern did not apply in Venice. The most intense prosecution occurred in the sixteenth century, and became less frequent in the seventeenth century, before petering out in the eighteenth century. That increasing disinterest may have had to do with shifting political conditions for "Ponentine Jews," as those of the Portuguese Nation were known in Venice, or with the increasing assimilation of Iberian Conversos into Jewish life in the Mediterranean.[11] As Jonathan Israel has noted, the phenomenon of Portuguese New Christians, a "diaspora within a diaspora," was of limited duration, and by the end of the seventeenth century had begun to decline.[12]

When inquisitors dealt with accusations against Iberians for Judaizing, the judges' first concern was to discern whether or not the accused was in fact of the Nation, and whether he or she had tried to live as a Christian, as a Jew, or as both. In a brief set of denunciations and investigations against unspecified *marani* in 1570, for example, the accuser identified the focus of his denunciation as *una casa nella quale habita Marani overo Zudei* ("a house in which live *marranos*, that is, Jews").[13] He went on to assert that the family dressed as Christians even though they no longer attended Mass. In the brief investigation that followed, the inquisitors asked neighbors *si questi tali sono zudei o*

11 Jews of Iberian descent in Venice might be referred to as Levantine Jews, if they immigrated by way of the eastern Mediterranean, or Ponentine Jews. By labeling them "Ponentine" rather than Iberian Venetian authorities could claim that none of the members of their Jewish community had been baptized Christians, as any Iberian immigrant would necessarily have been. On this see also Riccardo Calimani, *The Ghetto of Venice*, New York, 1987.

12 See Jonathan Israel, chapter two, and Jean-Pierre Dedieu, "Los Cuatro Tiempos de la Inquisición," in Bartolomé Bennassar ed., *La inquisición española. Poder politico y control social*, Barcelona, 1981.

13 Ioly Zorattini, Pier Cesare, *Processi del S. Uffizio de Venezia contro ebrei e giudaizzanti*, vol. II: 133.

marani et de che patria sono ("if these people are Jews or *marranos* and of what nation they are").[14] This suggests that there was some broader awareness of the existence of a group of people called *marranos*, that their specific place of origin helped identify them, and that they were often associated with the Jewish community. While the accuser elided Converso and Jew (and used the offensive but customary term *marrano* rather than Converso or the more neutral "New Christian"), it is notable that the inquisitors were careful to distinguish between them.

Similarly, Agostino Enriches claimed to be a Spaniard, but one witness, businessman Giovanni Maria Iuncta, said otherwise. Based on long experience with Agostino as a fellow merchant on the Rialto, Giovanni asserted that Agostino was affiliated with "the Mendes," that is, the famous (and famously wealthy) Portuguese merchant family of Gracia Nasi, which used Mendes as one of its many surnames.[15] Note the implication that one of the characteristics that distinguished Spanish and Portuguese émigrés in Venice was that Spaniards did not generate suspicion of Judaizing, while Portuguese immigrants did. This witness further added about Agostino, *Io l'haveva per portughese di quelli sc*[*apati*] *del Regno, per marano insieme con quei Mendes che venero tutti in un tempo* ("I took him for a Portuguese of those who escaped from the Kingdom, as a *marrano*, together with those Mendes that came all at one time)."[16] Other witnesses confirmed this account, taking stock of the signal marks of one of the Nation. Agostino dressed as a Christian, with a black cap rather than the distinctive yellow or red cap (sometimes a yellow turban) required of Jews; he was Portuguese; he did not seem to observe the rites of Christianity. More than one labeled him *marano*. Tellingly, he had in recent years begun to go by the Hebrew name Abram Benvenisti. All were signs that he was a Judaizing Converso.

Yet mere identification with the Portuguese Nation was not sufficient to merit prosecution. The accusation against several "*marani*" mentioned above is one example. Venetian authorities in general did not prosecute converts who made a quiet living, either in or out of the ghetto, as long as they did not attempt to mingle Christianity and Judaism, or move back and forth between one faith and another. María Lopes accused her father and stepmother of Judaizing, and of forcing her to mimic their observances. But despite her

14 Ioly Zorattini, vol. II, p. 134.

15 On the issue of this family and their various names, see Herman Prins Salomon and Aron de Leone Leoni, "Mendes, Benveniste, de Luna, Micas, Nasci: The State of the Art (1532–1558)," *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, New Series, vol. 88, no. 3 and 4 (1998), pp. 135–211.

16 Ioly Zorattini, vol. II, p. 69.

irrefutable testimony, the inquisitors chose to take no action, other than removing María from her home and giving her care over to the House of Catechumens.[17] Consistent Jewish observance on the part of forcibly baptized Christians and their descendants, although heretical in the eyes of the church, rarely generated a full-scale investigation or punishment.

Rather, it was the appearance of shifting between Christianity and Judaism that most concerned inquisitors. Francesco Olivier, for example, was a youth when he was wounded in a fight with another Portuguese émigré in the house of a courtesan, Laura Romana, in 1549. He asked that a priest come and administer communion. Francesco habitually wore a black cap and a sword and knife—all signs that he was a Christian. But then Francesco rejected the priest, saying that he needed to purge himself and confess before he took communion. A priest reported to the inquisitors that he had confessed a young man in the house, but then the story took an odd turn. Francesco was moved to a hostel in the ghetto to recuperate. Once there, he exchanged his long-familiar black cap of Christians for the yellow cap of the Jews. Francesco's identity also became a topic of discussion in the émigré community. One witness was asked about Francesco in the homes of the Spanish and Portuguese ambassadors. He could only reply helplessly that "I didn't know if said Olivier was a Jew or a Christian . . . they, having seen the yellow cap on his head, marveled greatly at this change of dress, and about which [the Lords] had asked me."[18] Confusion only increased when Francesco was taken prisoner by the Holy Office and a physical exam revealed him to be circumcised. He had not participated in Jewish rites, he claimed to the inquisitors, despite his parents' Judaizing in Ferrara. Concern about his attacker, a desperate need for assistance following his injury, or a crisis of faith might have altered his behavior, for many witnesses commented that he had behaved as a Christian until they saw him wearing the yellow cap. Whatever the reason for this change, the combination of a long-held and unassailable Christian practice, followed by a sudden and public adoption of Jewish identity, followed by another abrupt reversal when questioned by the Holy Office, clearly gave Francesco a certain notoriety. Francesco's ambiguous story, with its unsatisfying narrative structure of unexplained, extreme shifts in markers of religious identity, did not persuade the inquisitors of his innocence, and the young man was sentenced to four years in the galleys.[19]

17 Ioly Zorattini, vol. v: pp. 35–47.

18 Ioly Zorattini, vol. i: p. 82.

19 Ioly Zorattini, vol. i: p. 91.

Similarly, in 1570 Abram Righetto steadfastly insisted that he was born Jewish in Ferrara, despite mounting evidence that he was born a Christian in Portugal—the first of many signs of his multivalent religious identity. Abram, heir to significant family wealth, moved in aristocratic circles as a Christian, gambling, dining, and attending Mass with Iberian elites in Venice. Yet he wore not just the black cap of Christians, but the yellow cap of Jews, which he reportedly carried under his arm and put on when he passed certain Senators. The Venetian inquisitors, attempting to make sense of his family history, requested and received interviews conducted by inquisitors in Lisbon, Ferrara, and Rome with witnesses in those domains, all in an attempt to determine Abram's religious identity.[20] Abram, meanwhile, apparently had his own advantageous contacts with the Venetian Jewish community, who helped support him during his three years in the inquisitorial prisons; and with his jailers, until he made his escape in 1573.[21]

Some converts, recognizing the power of the Holy Office to provide a sort of institutional authorization of orthodox Christian observance, brought themselves before inquisitors across southern Europe to confess and beg forgiveness. Included among these was Ferdinando Almeida Pereira, a young Portuguese. In 1623, he turned himself in to the inquisitors for Judaizing. He claimed to have had two schoolmates in Portugal who persuaded him to leave school without telling anyone and travel. Once they reached Genoa, though, his companions informed him that they planned to travel to Constantinople—a decision that strongly suggests that his companions, at least, were Conversos planning to revert to Judaism in the Ottoman Empire. Ferdinando, now bereft of travelling companions, continued on to Hamburg, where there was a Portuguese community at that time. He did not mention, and perhaps it went without saying, that the Hamburg community was also made up Portuguese Judaizers. He told the inquisitors that after much persuading, the members of this community convinced him to convert and be circumcised. Still, he said, as he traveled with fellow members of the community to Venice to live there as a Jew, he claimed to realize that he believed in the correctness of Christianity in his heart, *con il core*, and decided to revert to Catholicism there. Now, two years after the start of his odyssey, he presented himself before the inquisitors and begged for forgiveness.

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20 Brian Pullan, "'A Ship with Two Rudders:' 'Righetto Marrano' and the Inquisition in Venice," *The Historical Journal*, vol. 20, no. 1 (1977), p. 29.

21 Ioly Zorattini, vol. III: pp. 37–209; see also Pullan, *The Jews of Europe*, pp. 218–220 and Pullan, "'A Ship with Two Rudders,'" pp. 25–58.

Some elements of his narrative might strike the reader as suspicious. He described his family as "noble," and said that he was raised a Christian; but his story is similar to that of many Portuguese Conversos. The inquisitors, for their part, never asked if he was from a family of Conversos. Since virtually all expatriate Portuguese were Conversos, it may not have seemed necessary for them to ask. Furthermore, Roman and Portuguese inquisitors (unlike Spanish inquisitors) did not ask for a genealogy from the accused, so such a question was not a common one. Ferdinando spoke persuasively of his contrition and desire to return to Christianity, and the inquisitors assigned him penance and considered him a reconciled Christian. Whether he was a Converso who had second thoughts about leaving his family and country, or a wayward son who experimented with an alien life before desiring to return to his previous existence, is unknowable. But whatever his motivation, his experience with Judaizing Portuguese communities—a broad network across Europe and the Americas that welcomed newcomers and carefully nurtured their observance of Judaism, and for whom Venice was a central pillar—was typical.[22]

While inquisitors were primarily concerned with Judaizers who made a mockery of Christianity by shifting between the two faiths, other cases reveal a quite different inquisitorial concern, namely, interference from the Council of Ten. The Holy Office sat in uneasy relation to the secular authorities. And while their interests often coincided, they might also diverge, particularly in regard to contentious issues of Portuguese Conversos, with their combination of financial importance and dangerous religiosity. One example of this occurred in the trial of Giorgio Francesco Diaz, his son Diego, and his family. Giorgio, his brother Ferdinando, and their families lived quietly in a house outside the ghetto. They observed some of the basic requirements of the Christian faith they claimed to honor: they had a statue of the Madonna in their home, ostentatiously displayed in the entryway; they lit torches when the Easter procession went by, as all the homes in the neighborhood did; and they appeared at Mass and even, in the case of the some of the women, at communion. Neighbors noted with a tone of malicious gossip that they seemed to entertain Jewish guests from the ghetto on Saturdays, and traveled to the ghetto on Saturdays as well. The men attended Mass irregularly at best. Priests who entered the house when a young son died noted suspiciously that except for the statue of the Virgin and a painting of the three wise men all the other religious art in

22 Ioly Zorattini, vol. IX. His apparent ambivalence and the geographically wide-ranging nature of his experience are reminiscent of the experience of Mariana, as explained by Siebenhüner.

the home was of Old Testament, or Hebrew Bible, scenes. But if their religious observance was inconsistent it never was so suspicious as to merit denunciation to the Holy Office. And after several years the family moved away.[23]

A few years after their move, however, one resident of the neighborhood thought he saw father and son, Giorgio and Diego, walking together in the streets of Venice dressed as Jews. The Holy Office began an investigation. Yes, the family had baptized its children, confirming their affiliation with the Catholic Church after their arrival in Venice. This was a key point, because the Venetian authorities were willing to look the other way if baptized Portuguese immigrants affiliated themselves with the Jewish community from the moment of their arrival. No, none of the neighbors knew the new location of the family. Giorgio's brother was, according to neighborhood gossip, gone—though whether he had died or moved to Constantinople was unclear. The totality of their previous behavior, and the certainty that they had been dressed as Jews, and thus apparently living as Jews after living as Christians, was sufficient to justify their arrest. This was precisely the kind of inconsistent religious practice that was most dangerous for the Iberian diasporic community in Venice. As a result, father and son were arrested together on 15 July 1621.[24]

Just at this moment, when things looked most bleak for the men of the Diaz family, the trial took an unexpected turn. Giorgio Diaz revealed that he had a letter of safe conduct from the Council of Ten. It asserted that even though the family had previously lived as Christians in the city of Venice, the Council of Ten had granted them permission to live as Jews in the ghetto, and freed them from fear of any prosecution. Giorgio and his son Diego were to be set free immediately. In turn, the safe conduct letter stated, the family was to leave the city of Venice within three days. The safe conduct was dated about three years previously, that is, at approximately the time that the Diaz family had moved from their Christian home to the ghetto. The inquisitors were sorely displeased at this turn of events, and stated that such an action impeded their ability to do their work. Perhaps, the inquisitors suggested, the Council of Ten did not realize that the family had lived so openly as Christians, and that their shift to Judaism was therefore a serious heresy? Nevertheless, after the session closed, the inquisitors ordered that the two men be set free, acquiescing to the arrangement made by the civil authorities years before.[25]

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23 Ibid., pp. 57–67.

24 Ibid., vol. IX, p. 68.

25 Ibid., vol. IX, pp. 68–72.

While direct intervention in the affairs of the Holy Office was rare, conflicts between the two sets of authorities did occur. Usually they involved particularly wealthy or economically significant families, and the arrangements made almost always benefitted the state financially, and directly. For example, the well known de Luna/Nasi family, caught between feuding sisters Gracia and Reyna, were granted a safe conduct out of the city when their fight over assets led each to accuse the other of Judaizing before the Council of Ten.[26] Other wealthy, well-connected Iberians, including some de Luna/Nasi retainers and others, also faced relatively minor penalties for their supposed misdeeds.[27]

Finding Iberian Women through the Venetian Inquisition

Distinctions between the concerns of Venetian and Iberian inquisitors are perhaps most stark in the trials of Iberian Judaizing women. Unlike in Spanish and Portuguese Inquisition courts, where women comprised roughly half of all accusations, Judaizing women made up only a small percentage of cases before the Venetian Holy Office, fewer than ten percent, including both Iberians and Italians.[28] Furthermore, the punishments for Judaizing among women, particularly Iberian women, tended to be mild. This might have been because the court's interest, as stated above, lay in those who moved back and forth between Christianity and Judaism rather than in Judaizers *per se*, and most women did not have the opportunity to display publicly such religious inconsistency. Indeed, Judaizing women were central to the maintenance of Jewish practices in the household, a tendency that was dangerous in Iberia but rendered them less suspicious in the Veneto.[29]

An accusation made by María Lopes against her father and stepmother is typical of those made against Judaizing Iberian women, and also typical of the role of some young women of Iberian descent in these trials. María was described as an honest young eighteen-year-old, the daughter of Diego Lopes of Antwerp. María did not remember Judaizing in her youth. Her mother, a

26 Ioly Zorattini, vol. I; Salomon and Leoni, "Mendes, Benveniste,;" in Cecil Roth, *The House of Nasi: Doña Gracia*, Philadelphia, 1948.

27 Ioly Zorattini, vol. II, pp. 67–96.

28 See Ioly Zorattini; also William Monter, "Women and the Italian Inquisitions," in Mary Beth Rose ed., *Women in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance: Literary and Historical Perspectives*, Syracuse, NY, 1986: 73ff.

29 Renée Levine Melammed, *Heretics or Daughters of Israel? The Crypto-Jewish Women of Castile*, Oxford, 1999.

Dutchwoman, had decided not to wed Diego Lopes after an engagement in spite of having a child by him because, according to her daughter, she realized that "he was a Jew," *lui era hebreo*.[30] María's contact with her mother diminished over time; first, María was placed in a convent for her education; later, her mother married another man, converted with him to Lutheranism, and moved away. When her education was complete, María left the convent, and her father decided to send her to Venice, where he lived with his wife, a Portuguese Conversa named Caterina Mendes. María endured the trip to Venice with yet another family of Portuguese Judaizers, and settled in with her father and stepmother. Brian Pullan has written that moving in stages from Portugal to Antwerp, and then to Italy before sometimes continuing on to the Levant, was customary among New Christians experimenting with increasingly devout observance of Judaism.[31] But the compelled Jewish observance of this newly re-established household was more than María could bear, and she denounced her father and stepmother to the Venetian Holy Office. The inquisitors recorded her testimony and questioned her, but chose not to pursue the case.

María and Caterina are typical of the Iberian women who appeared before the Venetian Holy Office. Like virtually all Iberian Conversos in Venice, they were of Portuguese descent, and like most Conversos came from families of mixed Jewish and Christian allegiance. In addition, like many Iberian Conversas who appeared before the Venetian Holy Office, they were socially and financially dependent upon the male members of the household who attempted to dictate varieties of religious observance for the family. María and Caterina might have fallen on opposite sides of the debate over whether to observe Christianity or Judaism, but both shared a record of travel and religious practice undertaken at the behest of their father and husband.

A similar unwilling submission to parental authority marked the case of Feliciana Dias. Feliciana was also of Portuguese extraction, though she lived her entire life on the Italian peninsula. She grew up in a mixed family, with a father who emphasized assimilation into Christian society and a mother who leaned toward Judaism. Her older sisters married and moved into their own homes, some Jewish and some Christian. When Feliciana's father died, her Judaizing mother quickly fell into financial difficulties. Soon, Feliciana and her mother were dependent upon the aid of her mother's Judaizing relatives of *a nação*, and eventually her mother sent her Christian daughter to an uncle and aunt who could provide for her care. That family lived as Jews in

30 Ioly Zorattini, vol. v, p. 37.

31 Brian Pullan, *The Jews of Europe*, pp. 211–213.

the Venetian ghetto, and insisted that Feliciana do the same. She tried to live a Christian life, but hidden away in a house in the ghetto she was unaware even of when the major Christian holidays took place. When the inquisitors asked why she had lived in a Jewish household as a crypto-Christian, despite having a Christian father, she replied simply that her mother's family were all Jews, and that her uncle had ordered her to go there. The inquisitors did not challenge her statement, and perhaps they were persuaded by her evident discomfort with the arrangement. But despite being accused, accurately, of holding a devout Christian young woman against her will in the house, expecting her to observe Jewish practices, and even attempting to contract a marriage for her with a local Jewish man, Feliciana's aunt and uncle faced no penalties at the hands of the inquisitors. It is not even clear from the file whether the Holy Office removed her from her family's household in the ghetto, despite the fact that she asked a window-maker who came to the house "if he could get her out of the hands of the Devil and away from those beasts," *che dovessi levarla via dale mani del diavolo e da quelle bestie*.[32] Perhaps the family's economic role in Venice mitigated against any harsh actions against it. Or perhaps the inquisitors believed that Feliciana's concerns were those of a disobedient girl, rather than a Christian held against her will. In any case, the inquisitors demonstrated once again their relative unconcern with Judaizers, unlike their Iberian counterparts.

Given the relatively few Iberian women accused in Venetian Inquisition records, it can be difficult to trace the experiences of female Judaizers. Yet we can identify more women as they appear in passing in the records, and develop a fuller picture of their collective experiences as a result. María and Feliciana, for example, described other Iberian Conversa women in the course of their statements. Very many of these women, such as María's stepmother and Feliciana's mother and aunt, seem to have been happy as Judaizers in Venice. They settled in the ghetto and quietly lived Jewish lives, utterly invisible to us except for the comments of the disgruntled teenaged girls in their families who made statements before the Holy Office. But neither were Feliciana and María alone in their discomfort with the lives they had been asked to live. María, in particular, poignantly described Isabella, the wife of the doctor with whom she traveled to Italy, occasionally lamenting that she wished to return to "Castello in Portugal with my brothers, because they are Christian and I want to live a Christian life," *Castello in Portugallo, con li mei fratelli, perché sono christiani et voglio vivere christianamente*.[33]

32 Ioly Zorattini, vol. x, p. 100.

33 Ioly Zorattini, vol. v, p. 37.

Perhaps an even more interesting depiction of the lives of Judaizing Iberian women in Venice comes from the trial of Giorgio and Diego Diaz, mentioned above. Giorgio's wife and daughters were not formally accused by the inquisitors, because they had not appeared in public dressed as Christians—another hint of the relative invisibility of Judaizing women. But we can learn something of their experiences from the testimony given at the trial. The women, more than the men in the family, maintained the Christian practices of the household. They attended Mass more often than the men. The priests interviewed even recalled the wife and daughter taking Communion, although in accordance with Venetian custom the daughter left her house fully veiled, so that the priest could not be certain of her identity. When a young son had died with the men of the house away on business, it was the wife who had called for the priests to come to the home and administer the sacraments. Yet some neighborhood gossip challenged this image of Christian devotion. A few witnesses testified that the women observed Shabbat, and then profaned the Christian Sabbath by spending Sundays bleaching their hair—a task that might well have been visible to neighbors since it usually required sitting with a bleaching agent on one's hair on the rooftops or outdoors in strong light.[34] The women, therefore, seem to have been central to the family's complicated religious life in all its permutations, which would be in keeping with the centrality of women to familial religious observance, particularly among Iberian Conversos.

The Iberians who appeared before the Venetian Inquisition were a varied lot, from young women mortified by their families' Judaizing, to young men who willingly converted to Judaism and just as willingly shed that affiliation; from successful merchants to wayward souls. Yet these Iberians did share some common characteristics. They identified themselves as Portuguese years or decades after leaving the Iberian Peninsula—even, in some cases, without ever having resided in Iberia at all. Portuguese and Spanish were the *linguae francae* for a Judaizing diaspora that extended from Venice east to Salonika and west to Hamburg and Antwerp. Their "Iberian-ness" was key to their identity, as Miriam Bodian has noted for Sephardic Jews in Amsterdam.

The labels "Portuguese" and "Judaizer" were also central to how these individuals were understood by their Venetian neighbors. The Venetian Holy Office might not have pursued them with the rigor of its Iberian counterparts, but everyday Venetians well knew of the "*marani*" and their desperate flight

34 Ioly Zorattini, vol. IX, p. 58 and Margaret F. Rosenthal and Ann Rosalind Jones eds., *The Clothing of the Renaissance World: Europe, Asia, Africa, and the Americas: Cesare Vecellio's Habiti Antichi et Moderni*, London, 2008.

from the Iberian Peninsula—and from Portugal in particular. For Venetians, Judaizing Portuguese Conversos were a critical facet of life in and out of the ghetto. Portuguese residents outside the ghetto seem to have endured constant observation from their Venetian neighbors, who were suspicious about the depth of these immigrants' Christian faith. That constant surveillance may help explain Judaizers' preparedness for the rigors of inquisitorial investigation. At the same time, Portuguese Judaizers were known as merchants who helped sustain Venice's economy. The Council of Ten's safe conduct letters for the Diaz and Mendes families underline that this knowledge extended even to the highest levels of Venetian society.

Indeed, the relative disinterest of the Venetian inquisitors in Portuguese Judaizing is perhaps an unsurprising concomitant of the ubiquity of Judaizing among such a small but important segment of Venetian society. The Venetian inquisitors' emphasis on those who moved back and forth between Judaism and Christianity, rather than on those who maintained their fidelity to one faith, is a practical response to this situation, and highlights the distinct political environment in the Most Serene Republic as opposed to the Iberian peninsula. The very notoriety of Iberian expatriates, from the homes of ambassadors to the back streets of Venice, and the studied unconcern with their religious lives on the part of Venetian officials, makes the experience of Iberian Conversos in Venice most instructive for any larger understanding of the phenomenon of Iberian New Christians in the early modern world.

CHAPTER 3

The Psalms of David by Daniel Israel López Laguna, a Wandering *Marrano*

Ruth Fine

The present study forms part of a larger research project on post-1492 Converso literature, understood as a critical category.[1] Within this framework, these pages treat a specific subtype of the typology I have elaborated in previous publications, corresponding in this case to the literature of the Sephardic Diaspora written by authors who have returned to Judaism after being exposed not just existentially, but more particularly in cultural, and above all, religious terms to Christian society, thought, and faith.[2]

This particular study centres on the translation of the biblical Book of Psalms completed by Israel Daniel López Laguna in the second half of the seventeenth century and published in London in 1720. This unique text awakens the critic's interest not only from a literary point of view, but also as a testimonial narrative of persecution and Sephardic exile, and of the complex project of recuperating the Biblical Hebrew text, and of its exegesis, not well known to many of the Conversos who left the Iberian Peninsula belatedly. Ultimately, this analysis of López Laguna's book will reveal the essentially syncretic character that I believe is attributable to Converso literature.

* Translated by William Childers.

1 This research was made possible by a grant (# 648/07) from the Israel Science Foundation.

2 See, for example, Ruth Fine, "Reflexiones en torno a la literatura de Conversos: un caso de hibridismo aurisecular," in René Ceballos y Claudia Gronemann eds., *Passagem: Hybridity, Transmédialité, Transuculturalidad*. Hildesheim-Zürich/New York, 2010, pp. 309–319; Ruth Fine, "La literatura de Conversos después de 1492: obras y autores en busca de un discurso crítico," in Ruth Fine, Michele Guillemont, and Juan Diego Vila eds., *La literatura de Conversos después de 1492*. Madrid/Frankfurt Am Main, 2014; and a previous version of this article, in *Calíope. Journal of the Society for Renaissance and Baroque Hispanic Society*, 17, 1. pp. 177–197.

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A Wandering Marrano

Not many biographical details are known about Daniel Israel López Laguna. He was born into a crypto-Jewish family, probably in Portugal, around 1640. According to Kayserling, Roth, Cabezas Alguacil and other historians, his family relocated to southern France, to Peyrehorade, and it was from there that, subsequently, the young Daniel would chose to go to Spain to study classical letters in a university setting.[3] During his stay in Spain he was arrested and condemned by the Inquisition for Judaizing. López Laguna would be held in inquisitorial prisons for nearly two decades. It is precisely during this time that he began, according to his own testimony, to plan his translation of the Psalms. After finally being reconciled with the Church and freed, he managed to make his way to Kingston, Jamaica, around 1680, where he once more openly professed Judaism, becoming a naturalized Jamaican in 1693. Established in Kingston, López Laguna devoted himself for two decades to his translation and paraphrase of the Hebrew text of the Psalms. The work was published in London in 1720, as the *Espejo fiel de vidas que contiene los Psalmos de David en verso, obra devota, útil y deleitable* [*True Mirror of Lives Contained in the Psalms of David in Verse; a Devout, Profitable and Pleasing Work*]. This was the first published work by a Jamaican citizen under British rule. López Laguna died in 1730.

Beyond the precise or imprecise details of his biography that historians have so far corroborated, it is López Laguna himself who reconstructs his own autobiographical legacy, in one of the many paratexts framing his work. Thus begins the acrostic stanza with which the poet offers the zealous reader the "assistance of King David:"

A las Musas inclinado	*I have favoured the Muses*
He sido desde mi infancia:	*Since I was a lad*;
La adolescencia en la Francia	*In France in my youth*
Sagrada escuela me ha dado:	*A holy school I had*.

3 M. Kayserling, "The Jews in Jamaica and Daniel Israel López Laguna," *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, 12, 4 (Jul., 1900), pp. 708–717; Concepción Cabezas Alguacil, "Un acercamiento a la obra de Daniel López Laguna: Espejo Fiel de Vidas," *Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes y Hebraicos* 37–38 (1988–1989), pp. 151–162; Norman Roth, "Daniel Israel López Laguna," *The Jewish Encyclopedia*. Second Edition. London, 2007, pp. 238–239. Roth believes that López Laguna was born in 1653.

En España algo han limado	*In Spain Arts further polished*
Las Artes mi Juventud,	*This early acquisition*,
Ojos abriendo en Virtud,	*And, eyes opening in Virtue*,
Salí de la Inquisición;	*Fled the Inquisition*.
Hoy Jamaica en canción	*Today Jamaica, singing*,
Los psalmos da a mi Laúd.	*Gives the Psalms to my Lyre*.
En mi prisión los Deseos	*In prison I long desired*
Cobré, de hacer esta obra,	*To undertake this task*;
Tuvo efecto en la zozobra,	*Through human effort and striving*,
O afán, de humanos empleos.	*The job is done at last*.[4]

Other paratexts—prologues and dedications to friends and coreligionists that precede the translation—ratify the autobiographical facts revealed by the writer. López Laguna offers us his own autobiography; that is, the syntax of his life's trajectory, as he wishes it to persist in the memory of his readers. In similar fashion, a famed writer from Alcalá de Henares had also affirmed, in the prologue to *Don Quixote*, that his work was engendered in a prison; he also was the principal artificer of an indirect autobiography that comes into relief in the course of his work, most particularly in the prologues of his texts.[5]

History, fiction, or historical fiction, the book with which we are dealing has an unquestionable testimonial value, as much for its closeness to the life and work of the author, whose sojourn in Jamaica is the best documented part of his life, as for the light it sheds on the small, unique Jewish community of Jamaica.

On the Jewish Community of Jamaica

Some facts about this community are useful to provide a context for the author and his work. In 1525, an agreement between Isabel Colón and a

4 Daniel Israel López Laguna, *Espejo fiel de vidas que contiene los Psalmos de David en verso, obra devota, útil y deleitable*, Londres, 5480 (facsimile edition, Bogotá, 2007, copy 163 of 200). All further references are to this edition, which will be cited by page number and, in the case of the Psalms themselves, chapter and verse. The several paratexts (dedications, laudatory poems, prologues) don't have a page number. I will modernize the spelling of all quotations. Although these lines contain an acrostic, I do not reproduce their original graphic format.

5 I am referring, of course, to Miguel de Cervantes, who López Laguna probably imitates.

Portuguese noble of the Braganza family brought Portuguese colonists to the Caribbean, some of whom settled in Jamaica, among them various Converso families. Oliver Cromwell, Admiral William Penn, and General Richard Venables captured Jamaica in 1655, and while the Spanish inhabitants fled the island, the Portuguese Conversos took advantage of the circumstances to return to Judaism. Indeed, it has been suggested that crypto-Jews from London and Jamaica aided the British in planning the invasion. Under Cromwell's governorship and after the Restoration, the Jewish inhabitants faced greater limitations on their civil liberties and heavier taxation than the island's other inhabitants, but they were allowed to freely practice their religion. In the decade of the 1660s, Jamaica was transformed into a crucial enclave for commerce between Europe and the New World. Sephardic merchants established themselves in Port Royal, Spanish Town, Kingston and other places, devoting themselves especially to the gold, silver, and spice trades. Among the remnants of that incipient community that have been preserved is the earliest Jewish grave, dated 1672, found in the Jewish cemetery of Hunts Bay, facing the quay at Port Royal. The inscriptions in this cemetery are written in Hebrew, Portuguese, and a few in English.[6] On the other hand, the first reference to a possible synagogue or Jewish house is from 1676. We know that towards the year 1700, which is to say the period when López Laguna was composing his work, some eighty Jewish families (about four hundred people) were living in Jamaica. A few possessed plantations, but the majority were merchants, maritime insurers, moneylenders, blacksmiths, importers, and exporters. In this context, Daniel López Laguna's literary project was undeniably exceptional. To the present day he is remembered by the Jewish community of Jamaica and, to some extent, the Sephardim as a whole, with admiration, for he was esteemed the most illustrious Jew on the island.[7]

A Forgotten Baroque Psalter

Within the framework of Biblical literature, the Book of Psalms, with its 150 songs, is undoubtedly the text which has found the greatest echo and use in Judeo-Christian liturgy, art, literature, and collective memory. As a composi-

6 This plurilingualism is also reflected in the paratexts of the work with which we are concerned here.

7 For a history of the Jewish community of Jamaica, see, among others, Thomas G. August, "An Historical Profile of the Jewish Community of Jamaica," *Jewish Social Studies*, 49. 3/4 (Summer—Autumn) 1987, pp. 303–316.

tional genre, the Psalms link song, poetry, and prayer; in every Psalm two basic attitudes appear: praise and entreaty, in different gradations and registers.

The urge to translate the Biblical text, especially the Psalms, was hardly unusual within Sephardic communities. In a tradition initiated by the Bible of Ferrara, the direct translation of the Bible from Hebrew into Romance languages would continue throughout the centuries that occupy us here, with the "word for word" approach supplemented by commentaries, as advocated in Ferrara. Among these works is the outstanding *Praise of Holiness. Translation of the Psalms of David*, by Yahacob Yehuda León Hebreo (called Templo), published in Amsterdam in the middle of the seventeenth century. This is a literal translation with commentary and annotations, which López Laguna himself mentions as a source of inspiration for his own translation. Yahacob Yehuda, dissatisfied with the Ferrara Bible because of the difficulty its strange Spanish presented to readers, had decided to complete this endeavour, with the goal of making the reading of the Psalms intelligible and enjoyable for the Hispano-Portuguese Jewish community.

López Laguna belongs to this tradition, valorising the Psalter as a book of prayers at the same time as he participates in the project of translating Biblical books into Spanish for liturgical purposes and as a means of reclaiming the Hebrew Bible through textual scholarship. Doubtless he also chooses the Psalms for translation because they sustain him in the face of adversity during the years of uncertainty and persecution, and also so that the text would serve as consolation for his coreligionists in the Sephardic Diaspora. In fact, the reasons López Laguna decides to publish his work are expressed by the author himself in the title—"A devout, profitable and pleasing work"—as by the authors of its prologues, David Nieto and Henríquez Pimentel, who confirm the functions of the book alluded to in its title.

To begin with, then, the motive of the translation was pious: to make the Psalter available to those among his coreligionists who knew no Hebrew, and in this way to make it possible to understand the Psalms in his native Spanish, which, in the author's opinion, possess a beautiful diction and musical verse. This condition of the verse and metrics of Spanish was a vehicle for the second objective of the translator: the different tenors that run throughout the Psalter (exaltation, gratitude towards God, veneration, dejection, etc.) could be expressed adequately through the different poetic forms of the Golden Age—*redondillas, quintillas, tercets, décimas, madrigals, ballads*, etc.—all of which should strengthen devotion by endowing it with aesthetic pleasure.

Undeniably, López Laguna's is a free translation, proclaimed by the author as well as in the prologues to be a paraphrase of the Psalter in poetic format. The work is preceded by some twenty laudatory poems in Hebrew, Latin,

Spanish, Portuguese, and English, all signed by members of the Hispano-Portuguese Jewish communities of Jamaica and London. Significantly, three of them were written by women: Sarah de Fonseca Pina y Pimentel, Manuela Núñez de Almeyda, and Bienbenida Cohen Belmonte. In addition to the celebratory poems, the work boasts other paratexts, such as the formal approval by the *haham* R. David Nieto, an artistic hieroglyph, and a dedication to the patron, "the most generous and magnanimous Señor Mordejay Núñez Almeyda. In London and with license of the Señores del Mahamad [directors of the Spanish-Portuguese Synagogue] and approbation of the Señor Haham. Year 5480." The Jamaican context was conducive to the author's completion of this translation project. There he encountered the previously mentioned patron, Mordejay Núñez de Almeyda, as well as an encouraging reception from the Hispano-Portuguese Jewish community, some of whose representatives penned the celebratory poems preceding the translation.

The work presents not a few compositional and aesthetic merits, at the same time raising a number of questions. As already indicated, not only is this a paraphrased translation of the Psalter, but the author is also putting on display his mastery of a wide range of verse forms inspired in the poetic paradigm of the Spanish Baroque, thus configuring a unique syncretic space, in which devotional zeal fuses with both the metric virtuosity of the Baroque and the immediacy of a testimonial narrative, as we will see in a moment.

Nonetheless, and as was to be expected, López Laguna has remained almost entirely forgotten as far as the canon of Spanish Golden Age literature is concerned. Of particular interest are Menéndez Pelayo's brief but lapidary judgments in the section of his *Historia de los heterodoxos*, in which he includes heterodox writers of Jewish origin: "Poets, novelists and writers of literature for enjoyment. Esteban Rodríguez de Castro. Moshe Pinto Delgado. David Abenatar Melo. Israel López Laguna. Antonio Enríquez Gómez. Miguel Leví de Barrios."[8] He adds, concerning this group of Jewish converted authors:

> It was explained in an earlier chapter why our history should contain, even if only in passing, the Muslims and Jews who, after having received baptism, returned to their former opinions. [...] I will spend a bit more time on the Judaizing writers, because some of them were Jews in race alone and Christians in baptism alone, and ended up as freethinkers, materialists, or Deists, due to which they belong, fully and in their own right, in this book. [...] Certainly it might be said that of the many who have received baptism and dwelt among us, barely a single one of them

8 Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo, *Historia de los heterodoxos españoles*, IV, Madrid, 1947, p. 285.

> was a true Christian. But their long residence among us, and the separation in which they lived from rabbinical centres, eventually meant that they were indistinguishable in knowledge, style, language, and artistic forms from other Spanish writers. Moreover, many of these New Christians, though Jewish by lineage, at the bottom of their hearts were not so in belief; indeed, often they barely knew the beliefs of their forefathers. Beyond a few superstitions, they were generally men with no religion or law whatsoever, a fact which explains the philosophical derailing of some Israelite thinkers at the end of the seventeenth century, such as Espinosa, Uriel da Costa, and Prado.[9]

In this fragment, typical of Menéndez Pelayo in its derogatory tone and simplistic underlying assumptions, the Spanish scholar nonetheless indicates, presumably without intending to, the complex drives and underlying conflict present in so many manifestations of the bifurcated existential path of both the Conversos and their literature. Even so, Menéndez Pelayo insists upon denying nearly all aesthetic value to that literature, as well as any originality, merely highlighting that, "At most the work of certain poets is distinguished by its predilection for Old Testament themes; but the manner of treating them is no different, neither in style nor in rhythmic forms, than was used by the Christian poets."[10] And regarding the author of the work that concerns us here, he indicates:

> There is another translator of the Psalms [...] who did not publish his translation until the year 1720 (5480, according to the Jewish calendar), though he finished it some years before. His name was Daniel Israel López Laguna [...] His coreligionists praised him to the skies. No fewer than thirteen Jewish poets and three poetesses, each more obscure and forgotten than the next, honored him with laudatory verses, finding his style "delicate and sweet" and his verses "melodious and sonorous." Unlike Abenatar Melo, it appears that López Laguna knew some Hebrew, and desired with his translation to ameliorate the ignorance of his brother Jews who came from Spain without being able to translate the holy tongue. But this is the *only* advantage he has over his predecessor; and brag though he may of his scrupulous fidelity, even to the point of claiming not to "increase or decrease by a single syllable the Hebrew text," in reality he does not hesitate to slip in invective against *the Tribunal the*

9 Ibid., p. 286.

10 Ibid., p. 308.

> *infidels call Holy* [. . .] Laguna considered himself authorized to use all the metrical forms known in our Parnassus, from octaves, tercets, and lyric stanzas, to *redondillas, quintillas, décimas*, and *seguidillas*; an unparalleled example of perverse taste. These *fandango* lyrics cry out for a guitar and the doorway of a tavern. Poor David![11]

This devastating criticism did away with any interest on the part of Spanish philologists for the work of López Laguna, unjustly, in my opinion, as I will try to show in what follows.

The Poetic Paraphrase of the Psalms: A Lyric Autobiography

As conceived and elaborated by its author, López Laguna's work is by no means a literal translation of the Psalms, but rather a free paraphrase based simultaneously on the Spanish translation by Yahacob Yehuda León, on the Ferrara Bible and, probably, on the so-called Bible of the Bear, translated by Casiodoro de Reina (1569). In the poetic prologue, written in ten-line stanzas (*décimas*), López Laguna specifies two of these three sources, affirming that not only has he been guided by León Templo, but he also owes a good deal to the writings of Menasseh ben Israel:

Supliendo faltas de ciencia,	*Overcoming lack of science*,
Regir mi nave el Timón,	*I steer my ship as shown*
Por JACOB YEHUDAH LEON,	*By JACOB YEHUDAH LEON*,
Templo de sacra excelencia.	*A sacred Temple of excellence*.
También logró mi Pincel	*My Brush drew as well*
Alguna Luz del Farol	*Some of the Light that shone*
Del claro y luciente Sol	*from that clear and brilliant Sun*,
MENASSEH BEN ISRAEL:	*MENASSEH BEN ISRAEL*:
Sus líneas observo Fiel	*I observe his lines, Faithful*,
Siguiendo la Real doctrina	*Following the Royal doctrine*
De la Eterna Ley Divina.	*Of the Eternal Law Divine*.

Close textual comparison of the different versions has demonstrated that the work of López Laguna is far from being a faithful reproduction of Yehuda León's translation, however, or even of the Ferrara Bible. His choices reflect not only the aesthetic demands of the verse forms and rhyme schemes

11 Ibid., pp. 313–314.

used, but above all the personal taste and style of the writer, as well as his testimonial aims.

I believe López Laguna may have made some direct use of the Hebrew original, given the rudimentary knowledge he shows of that language. This is obvious not only in the Hebrew words scattered throughout the work, but also in the sensitivity to the language reflected in his lexical choices generally. From the outset, in addition to the lexical examples, there are other indicators that corroborate this thesis, especially those of an exegetical character. Consequently, on these two levels, partially on the lexical and almost entirely on the exegetical, the work of our translator coincides fully with Hebrew versions of the Psalms, such as the Ferrara Bible. At the same time, however, I wish to emphasize that López Laguna's verse adheres not only to the paradigmatic poetic meters of Peninsular poetry, but also succeeds at following quite precisely the phonetic, morphological, and syntactic norms of Castilian. In this regard there is a substantial difference between the Book of Psalms as included in the Ferrara Bible and that of the Jamaican author.

As is well known, the Ferrara Bible, which "translated word for word from the Hebrew truth into the Spanish language," is inscribed within a tradition of translations of the Holy Scriptures into Jewish vernacular languages.[12] The interpretive and linguistic focus of that tradition is characterized by maximum fidelity to the original Hebrew text, with the objective of literality. In the Ferrara Bible one can observe a pronounced degree of violence inflicted upon the receiving language, in the name of faithfulness to the Hebrew original; that is, a full correspondence with Rabbinical or Masoretic exegesis, with no room left for Christological interpretations. The letter of the Hebrew text is followed to the maximum degree possible, leading to it being characterized, even by critics at the time, as anti-Christian, both in its own interpretation and in its intention of undermining the authority of the Vulgate.[13] The Jewish translator

12 Within the framework of Judaism, translations of the Bible had not been intended for independent reading, but only as a supplementary aid for comprehending the Hebrew original, which continued to be used both for study and liturgically.

13 *Clemente* Ricci, *La Biblia de Ferrara*. Buenos Aires, 1926. The most noteworthy case in this respect is Isaiah 7:14, as far as concerns the translation of the Hebrew word *almá* as *virgo*/virgin (in the Vulgate and in vernacular Christian versions, which see this verse as a prophecy of Christ's birth) or as "*moza*," young woman, or "*doncella*," maid (translating in accordance with "Hebrew truth"). In most versions of the first edition of the Bible of Ferrara, the choice is *moça* ("he la moça concibién y parién hijo"), whereas others prefer the compromise of simply transcribing the Hebrew, "alma." Very few versions have actually translated this term as "virgin;" the reasons for this are still subject to debate.

avoids cultural transference in places where the Christian versions had translated according the New Testament´s theological interpretation. The greatest difficulties arise in the morpho-syntactic plane: thus, for example, the attempt at maintaining in the translation the very same Hebrew syntactic structure or the closest equivalent, keeping the original word order, in such a way that, in many cases, the syntax can only be understood by reference to the full Hebrew text. (An important example of this is the absence of the copula in the present tense, as a direct transference from the Hebrew.) The strength of the influence of Hebrew syntax produces constructions that have never before existed in Spanish. In Feliciano Delgado's opinion,[14] without the shared code provided by familiarity with the Hebrew original, the text would be rendered incomprehensible. This characteristic of the Ferrara Bible finds absolutely no echo whatsoever in López Laguna's version, for which reason it does not appear that it served him as a bridge or a substitute for the Hebrew original.

I will now give some examples of the manner in which López Laguna followed the Hebrew version, whether as a result of direct contact or due to the influence of the Ferrara Bible.[15]

Psalms 84:7 [V: 83:7/CR: 84:6]
V (Vulgate): *in valle lacrimarum* [in the valley of tears].
CR (Casiodoro de Reina): *por el Abbaha* [through the Abbaha].
FB (Ferrara Bible): ***passantes por valle de confusión*** [travellers through the valley of confusion].
LL (López Laguna): ***valles de confusión*** [valleys of confusion]

14 Delgado, Feliciano. "Verdad hebraica y verdad románica en la Biblia de Ferrara," in Iacob M. Hassán ed., *Introducción a la Biblia de Ferrara. Actas del Simposio Internacional. Sevilla, noviembre de 1991*, Madrid, 1994, pp. 142–148.

15 The translation of the Psalms by Yehuda León presents few cases of semantic divergence with respect to the Ferrara Bible. León Hebreo, Yahacob Yehuda, *Alabanças de Santidad. Traducion de los Psalmos de David*., Amsterdam, 5437 (1677). The versions of the Bible used for the comparison are: *Biblia do Urso. La Biblia que es, los sacros libros del Vieio y Nuevo Testamento* / Trasladada en español. Basilea: Thomas Guarin, 1569. Digital version: https://bdigital.sib.uc.pt/poc/arq/Monografias/LivroAntigo/UCBG-2-9-4-8/UCBG-2-9-4-8_item1/P9.html.; *La Biblia de Ferrara*. Ed. Moshe Lazar. Madrid: Biblioteca Castro, 1996; *Torah, Neviim, Ketuvim*. Edition in accordance with the Masora, Tel Aviv, (in Hebrew), 1961.

Unlike the Christianized version of V and also unlike CR (which does not translate the term, taking it as a place name), in FB and LL "*émek ha bajá*" is rendered literally as "confusion," from the Hebrew root "b-i-h," in accordance with Masoretic exegesis, which sees in the valley a reference to Gehenna (Gei Ben Heinom), near Jerusalem, a place of confusion and ghostly visions (as a consequence of the profanation of God that took place there), and not a "valley of tears," as it is considered in Christian exegesis.

Psalms 22: 16 [V: 21:16]
V: *et lingua mea adhesit faucibus*[16] *meis et in limum mortis deduxisti me* [and my tongue stuck to my pharynx and to the slime of death you led me]
CR: *y mi lengua se pegó a mis paladares y en el polvo de la muerte me has puesto* [and my tongue stuck to my palettes and you have taken me to the dust of death].
BF: ***y mi lengua apegada a mis paladares, y a polvo de muerte me pones*** [and my tongue is stuck to my palettes, and you bring me to the dust of death]
LL: ***y ya traba a mi lengua, aunque porfíe,/ al paladar se pega al ver la suerte,/ con que el pérfido Amán buscó mi muerte***. [And now my tongue is tied, no matter how I try / and it sticks to my palette, seeing how / the traitor Amán sought my death]

This example is of interest not only because morphologically it departs from the plural (*paladares*) maintained by Hebrew-affiliated versions as a calque of the Hebrew plural (*lecohai*), but also for the analogical and interpretive amplification characteristic of López Laguna's paraphrase: he extrapolates a reference to Amman, the epitome of the (vanquished) persecutor of the Jewish people, found in the Book of Esther. This book, as is well known, is one which Conversos and expelled Jews avidly read and imaginatively recreated, both for its similarity to their own story of persecution, and for the hope of salvation it offered.[17] Undoubtedly, we also find here a certain autobiographical supplement and intensification ("*pérfido*," treacherous): the speaker individuates himself and presents his own persecution, as perpetrated against him by the paradigmatic enemy, Amman ("*buscó* mi *muerte*," he sought *my* death).

16 In the Iuxta Hebr.: "palato meo". *Biblia Sacra Iuxta Vulgatam Versionem*. Adiuv. B. Fischer Osb, Iohanne Gribomont Osb. Stuttgart, 1975.

17 Let us recall that queen Esther hid her religion in order to save her people, and so came to be viewed as an analogical manifestation of the situation of the crypto-Jews.

Psalms 113: 7 [V: 112]
V: *Suscitans a terra inopem et de stercore erigens pauperem* [lifting the indigent from the earth and raising the poor from the manure].
CR: *Que levanta del polvo al pobre, y al menesteroso alza del estiércol* [that raises the poor man from the dust, and lifts the needy from the manure].
BF: ***Fazién levantar de polvo mendigo, de muladar enaltecerá desseoso*** [they make the beggar rise from the dust, and from the trash heap will raise the desiring].
LL. ***Desde el polvo levanta/ al que tolera,/ cual Yob los muladares*** [From the dust he raises / the one he tolerates / just as Job [from] the trash heaps. . . . .].

The present example underscores once again the lexical proximity to the Ferrara Bible (*muladar*, trash heap), at the same time as it reaffirms the transverse, associative reading López Laguna makes of the Biblical text itself: the beggar or poor man, anonymous in the original Hebrew, here becomes Job, the archetype of the believer put to the test, reasserting once more the symbolic identification with the Converso situation, which is thereby re-signified and universalized.

López Laguna's text also incorporates words "foreign" to the discursive space of the Psalms. A remarkable dialogue takes place between the Old Testament idiom and a marked classical and mythological vein, prominent mainly, though not exclusively, in the author's own paratexts. Examples include the Prologue, "Que a Perseo le dio Palas" ("What Pallus gave to Perseus," no pagination); or II, 49: 10, "Del Fénix las edades" ("The ages of the Phoenix," p. 90). By the same token, not only markers of Baroque discourse filter their way in, but also those of the social context of the time, such as *dukes, counts, theatres*, etc., syntagmas and lexemes that transpose the 'atemporal' Biblical past into a concrete present.

In effect, one of the aspects of greatest interest of the work is constituted by its undeniable testimonial value, as much individual as collective. This "Baroque Psalmist" transfers the Biblical text to his contemporary context and personal life experience, especially in registering the mark of trauma. This can be observed, for example, in the rather free re-imagining of some of the Psalms, in which López Laguna alludes more or less directly to the sufferings inflicted by the Inquisition and its collaborators. Thus, for example, in Psalm 10: "Preso sea el Malsín que audaz se alaba" ("Imprisoned be the informer who audaciously brags," I, 10: 3, p. 13).[18]

18 As is well known, "malsinar" (meaning to spy on and inform against someone) is one of the few terms that came into Spanish from Hebrew: *malsín, malsindad*; *malsinar*, as

In not a few Psalms, such as I, 39: 9, the lyric voice not only refers to the terrible Tribunal, but also alludes fairly explicitly to the Edict of Expulsion: "Lávame Justo Juez de mis delitos,/ Sin permitir que en tribunal tirano/, promulguen contra mí falsos edictos" ("Cleanse me, righteous Judge, of my sins, / Without allowing the tyrannical Tribunal /, To decree false edicts against me," p. 69). Or Psalm V, 149: 7–9, p. 285:

Porque venganza en las Gentes,	*So he may take vengeance*
haga de quien le ultrajó,	*On the peoples who abused*,
castigando en las Naciones,	*Punishing their Nations*
Crueldades de Inquisición.	*For cruelties the Inquisition used*;
Para encarcelar sus Reyes,	*To imprison their Kings*
cual hizo a Sihon y a Hog,	*As he did to Sihon and Hog, too*,
y a sus Nobles en cadenas,	*And throw their Nobles in chains*,
de Diamantino Eslabón	*Of links hardened and true*,
Para hacer en ellos Juicio	*Bringing them to Justice*,
como hizo con Pharaón.	*As long ago he did to Pharoah*.

Such references are frequent throughout the text and reveal the obsessive scar of the memory of the expulsion, of the monarchs responsible for it, and of the Inquisition and its "secular arm"; at the same time, though, these references engage in the reconstruction of his own existential path, marked as it was by the chain of infamous acts of those victimizers. The voice of the Psalmist thus merges with the voice of the translator, who makes the discourse of David his own, enacting a rewriting of the Psalter intertwined with his own life experience and that of the collective with which he identifies and to which he addresses himself: persecution, prison, suffering, and injustice. In this manner, López Laguna associatively melds not only individual with collective, contemporary experience, but also the present trauma with the historical past of the Jewish people, striving finally to emerge as the voice of a nation and of its history, legitimating the Converso experience of the expulsion/forced conversion as one more link in the diachronic chain structuring the historical consciousness of the Jews as a people.

The complex rhetorical apparatus of this translation indeed corresponds to such a religious and ideological program. At the lexical-semantic level, López Laguna resorts continuously to amplifications, lexical permutations,

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a synonym for "denounce." S/v "malsinar:" accuse, incriminate someone, or speak ill of something with malicious intent" (*Diccionario de la Real Academia Española*, 22nd edition, digital version, http://buscon.rae.es/drae).

interpolations, and associations, inscribed in either the paradigmatic or the syntagmatic axis (i.e. metaphors/similes or metonymies) and reinforced, in turn, by additional rhetorical devices, such as the frequent use of hyperbole. This compositional poetics presents itself as a rewriting of the Psalms grounded in the individual and collective experience of a specific historical moment; and this moment is thus reactivated by being inserted into the continuum of the Psalter, whose own cyclical, reiterative structure and rhetoric are concomitant with the memory of Jewish experience perpetuated by and through it.

Let us take an illustrative example of this scriptural procedure: Psalm 1, 6, penitent. In the translation of Casiodoro de Reina, verses 3 and 4 remain closest to the wording of the original Hebrew: "Ten misericordia de mí, oh Jehová, porque estoy debilitado. Sáname, oh Jehová, porque mis huesos están conturbados. Y mi ánima está muy conturbada, y tú, Jehová, ¿hasta cuándo?" ("Have mercy upon me, oh Jehovah, for I am weakened. Cure me, oh Jehovah, for my bones are distressed. And my spirit is very distressed—and you, Jehovah, for how long?")

López Laguna's version is re-elaborated as a dirge (*endechas*), including hendecasyllabic lines (1, 6: 3–4, p. 7, emphasis added):

Pues mi alma conturbada	*For my soul was distressed,*
fue entre el rigor de impíos;	*Amid those lacking in piety*;
hasta cuándo Dios alto,	*How long God on high must you*
Consientes *la crueldad de incircuncisos*	*Allow the uncircumcised their cruelty?*
Señor por tu Clemencia	*Lord by your clemency*
vuélvete a mi benigno	*Return to me clement*
Redime mi Alma usando	*Redeem my soul through*
De tu misericordia lo infinito.	*Your infinite mercy*.

Verse 8 of the same psalm reinforces the autobiographical sequence: "De pena, pues me aflijo/ Por mis perseguidores,/ Ya en mi pueril infancia envejecido" ("Sorrow, thus, afflicts me; / due to my persecutors, / in my young childhood I am too soon grown old"). By comparison, the more literal *Biblia del Oso* (Bible of the Bear) renders: "My eyes . . . . have grown old due to my antagonists" ("mis ojos [. . .] hanse envejecido a causa de todos mis angustiadores"). Hyperbolic amplification is evident in this illustrative example: the wicked are impious; the pious, blessed and happy; and the sinners, depraved infidels. By the same token, we find the intimacy of personal confession in the oxymoron: persecution has transformed the poetic speaker into an elderly child, uprooting him

from the childish innocence of the infantile paradise. Thus the re-creation and appropriation of the Psalmist is re-signified within the space of personal memory recovered.

On the Addressee of the Poetic Psalms

Researchers distinguishes three basic objectives for the translations into the vernacular of the Biblical texts after 1492, a project led by the Ferrara Bible: first, the religious needs, both liturgical and scholarly, of the practicing Jewish community in which they are written and published; second, as a means of preserving sacred traditions, given the risk of "doctrinal contamination"; and third, proselytization—the re-Judaization of the Hispano-Portuguese Conversos who had come from Italy, fleeing Inquisitorial persecution and social marginalization.[19] In this way, we can establish as primordial audiences for López Laguna's translation of the Psalter, on the one hand, the Hispano-Portuguese Jews of his own Caribbean community, England, and Northern Europe, and, on the other, Conversos and crypto-Jews who wanted to return to strict Judaism after having been immersed in the Christian world.[20] For these, the relative literality of the translation compensated, to some extent, for lack of access to the original text. It is important to remember that crypto-Jews and New Christians constituted the first group of European Jews who had a prolonged, direct immersion outside the spiritual world of the normative Jewish tradition and had free access to Christian theological and philosophical sources. Translations into the vernacular therefore were a crucial part of the re-conversion project, transferring the rich contents of the Jewish sources into

19 Moises Orfali considers the Ferrara Bible the most philologically perfect and exegetically complete of all vernacular romance Bibles produced by Jews in a Jewish spirit. It was this that made it the most feared from the point of view of Christian dogma. (Moisés Orfali, "Contexto teológico y social de la *Biblia de Ferrara*." In Iacob M. Hassan ed., *Introducción a la Biblia de Ferrara. Actas del Simposio Internacional. Sevilla, noviembre de 1991*, Madrid, 1994, pp., 232–234.)

20 As Orfali indicates, the Conversos who returned to Judaism cannot be seen as a uniform group. The obedient can be distinguished, for example, from the vacillators or questioners. In relation to the last of these, the project of their reinsertion into Jewish dogma required the existence of exegetical texts that supported that dogma (ibid.). Here it is worth noting that the Ferrara Bible does not appear directly mentioned in the Inquisitorial Index until 1747. The declaration on its title page, "seen and examined by the Holy Office of the Inquisition," is nothing but an attempt at conciliation of the Inquisitorial Tribunal. The declaration will be confirmed fraudulent in 1747. Orfali, ibid., pp. 229–232.

Spanish and Portuguese to provide access to them on the part of those who had been separated from them and who had been "contaminated" by doctrines foreign to the Jewish canon.

To all the reasons presented here, and explicitly stated in some of the paratexts to López Laguna's paraphrase, I wish to add two additional ones of no less interest and centrality. First, his work is written for an educated public that knows not only the Spanish language, but also the compositional paradigms of Golden Age poetry. This public would be able to appreciate the flexibility of the translator-poet's verse and the scope of his aesthetic achievements. Certainly, for such readers this approach would reach them more effectively, presenting in a more attractive form the Biblical/religious contents with which they were to be instructed. Moreover, its inherent syncretism succeeds in harmonizing the classic Hispanic literature of the Christian cultural sphere with Jewish religious and exegetical contents, exalting what could be considered an essential ambition of the Hispano-Hebraic descendents of the Conversos and/or expelled: a double belonging in which both traditions are sustained and neither is annulled.

Second, López Laguna's translation, in which the Psalmist is personalized in the voice of a Converso who was himself a victim of the sufferings and yet managed to save himself from them and return to his ancestral faith, constituted in itself an efficacious vehicle for achieving individual identification with the recovered religious tradition. No longer are we dealing with a mere abstraction or an infinite, detemporalized historical past, but rather with a representation of the reader's own history and personal quest: as a "mirror of lives" (*espejo de vidas*), this work strives to offer each Hispano-Hebraic reader the possibility of reading the Psalms as a mirror of his/her own existential trajectory. For this reason, some of the apparent inconsistencies running through the translation in fact enjoy a certain symbolic value.

While it is true that the Sephardim abandoned the Iberian Peninsula as "undesirables," they nonetheless carried in their intellectual baggage abundant echoes of the cultural knowledge of the region and the past they left behind. One example of this sort would be clearly given by the great tradition of Spanish poetry, written in accordance with the rules of an Iberian Parnassus. Thus it follows that between the Hispano-Hebraic poetry developed thenceforward and Spanish poetry *per se* there would be a subtle play of analogies and differences, attraction and repulsion. López Laguna's work constitutes, in this sense, a wide field for the analysis of such a paradoxical dynamic. His creative wager takes poetic nourishment from the vast storehouse of personages, histories, and situations recorded in the Hebrew Biblical corpus, interpolating this paradigm into the trunk of Castilian poetry. It is in this context that the

Biblical parallels he elaborates and inserts into his version of the Psalms are paramount. These begin with a number of references to Genesis—from Adam through Abraham to Jacob—and, after running through events and characters from all the books of the Bible, conclude in the period of Jewish exile, with special emphasis on the incidents mentioned in the Book of Esther, for the reasons already indicated. It is particularly noteworthy that these references do not follow chronological order, nor do they present the books of the Bible sequentially; rather, the effect is one of recurrence and circularity, reproducing perfectly the biblical conception of time, generally, and that of the Psalms in particular. All this dense biblical spectrum of images, episodes, etc., as we have seen, is interpolated into the complex and exhaustive rhetorical epic and lyric system of Spanish Golden Age poetry. As the author declares in his prologue and as some of the laudatory paratexts confirm, one of the objectives of this versified translation is as an apprenticeship in reading from memory, with the goal of its being transmitted aloud and even sung, and being thereby re-utilized in different contexts by members of the Hispano-Portuguese community.

Finally, I would not wish to dismiss out of hand one other possible audience which could have belonged to the author's more-or-less conscious horizon of expectations: I refer to the properly Christian readership, before whom López Laguna presents himself as an Hispanic poet who defends his expertise and competence, thus challenging, from the literary sphere, the denial of his right of belonging.

By Way of Conclusion: A Psalmodic Polyphony

More than a century and a half after the expulsion, the conversions, and the resulting cultural crossings, López Laguna exercises his office of translator through the entire range of voices constituting the Sephardic Diaspora as a multicultural polyphony, and, more particularly, within the Hispano-Portuguese tradition. The underlying foundation of this Hebrew book translated into Castilian, entails a convergence of multiples lines of influence emanating from the Hispanic cultural legacy. By the same token, the range of addressees the work presupposes, including, as we have seen, both Jewish and Christian readers, incorporates the two ethno-religious spheres constituting the humanist landscape of Spain before the expulsion into a concrete situation of literary communication. An active space of "multiculturalism" is thereby opened up, considering that, in a still Jewish but no longer Iberian context, its sources remain carriers of Spanish and even classical materials. These distinct discourses do not merely coexist within the work as an academic

juxtaposition. On the contrary, they develop complex, dynamic interrelations. In this way, the *Mirror of Lives* (*Espejo de vidas*) is neither the product of a single governing intentionality nor does it present to the reader any unified, univocal signification, or any coherent, uncontaminated form. Rather, López Laguna's translation belongs to an unabashedly "impure" poetry of Converso literature, pointing to various goals and directions, configured according to various codes. This type of "contamination" is a manifestation of dialogism. The words of those seen as wholly other are modulated in the voice of the lyric subject—at the same time as they shape the word of that subject.

Daniel Israel López Laguna's Psalter can thus be considered a paradigmatic example of Converso literature: a "mirror," perhaps, of lives, of trajectories, but above all, a space of heterogeneous voices, a space of multiple filiations that recognize and dialogue with one another, creating a scriptural *ethos* open to plurivalent readings.

CHAPTER 4

Anti-Rabbinic Texts and Converso Identities: Fernão Ximenes de Aragão's *Catholic Doctrine*

Claude B. Stuczynski

An Anti-Rabbinic Text

How to read an anti-rabbinic text written in Portugal years after the mass conversion of the Jews in 1497? Historiographical debates centre around two hermeneutical possibilities: as the expression of an autonomous anti-Jewish established literary genre, the *contra iudaeos*, based on polemics against a Judaism that was more virtual than real; or as part of a critical, albeit distorted stance against New Christians or Conversos.[1] According to the first view, real Conversos were mostly absent in these texts, becoming an excuse to recreate the long lasting Christian theological debate between

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* Translated by Fabiola Martínez.

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1 See Ephraim Talmage ("To Sabbatize in Peace: Jews and New Christians in Sixteenth-Century Portuguese Polemics," *Harvard Theological Review*, vol. LXXIV (1981), pp. 265–285) and Ronaldo Vainfás ("Deixai a lei de Moisés!" Notas sobre o "Espelho de cristãos-novos" (1541), by Frei Francisco Machado", in: Lina Gorenstein & Maria Luiza Tucci Carneiro (eds.), *Ensaios sobre a intolerância; Inquisição, marranismo e anti-semitismo: homenagem a Anita Novinsky*, São Paulo: Humanitas; FAPESP, 2002, pp. 241–263). For the case of Francisco Machado see, *The Mirror of the New Christians* (*Espelho dos Christãos-Novos*) *of Francisco Machado. Edited, Translated and with an Introduction by Mildred Evelyn Vieira and Frank Ephraim Talmage*, Toronto 1977. Cf. the introductory studies of the anti-Jewish works of João de Barros, *Diálogo evangélico sobre os artigos da fé; contra o Talmud dos judeus. Manuscrito inédito, introducção e notas de I.S. Révah*, Lisboa Studium, 1950; idem, *Rópica Pnefma. Reprodução fac-similada da edição de 1532*, Israel Salvator Révah ed., 2 vols., Lisboa: Instituto Nacional de Investigação Científica, 1983.

According to Jeremy Cohen, "*…'the hermeneutical Jew' of medieval Christian theology enjoyed a career and virtual life of his own" "his defining characteristics and personality derived from the inner requirements of Christian theological discourse,"* Jeremy Cohen ed. *From Witness to Witchcraft, Jews and Judaism in Medieval Christian Thought*, Wiesbaden, 1996, pp. 9–10).

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the Church and the Synagogue.[2] Eventually, such anti-rabbinical tracts could also serve an internal Christian theological need: to fight against a tendency to "Judaize," perceived literally and metaphorically as a regression from soul to flesh, from spirit to letter, and from eternal truth to the mere appearance of truth.[3] According to the second view, beyond such stereotypes and clichés, anti-rabbinic polemical tracts contain useful data, being a complementary means to understand Converso religiosities, as appear in thousands of inquisitorial files.[4] Through an analysis of the *Catholic Doctrine for the Instruction and Confirmation of the Believers and the Extinction of the Superstitious Sects, and Particularly Judaism* [*Doutrina catholica para instrucçaõ e cõfirmaçaõ dos fieis e extinçaõ das seitas supersticiosas e em particular do Judaismo*], Lisbon, 1625, by Fernão Ximenes de Aragão, I hope to show that those options do not exclude other interpretations.[5]

As will be argued, traditional historiography inevitably leads to a useful, though limited, understanding of texts such as these. I believe that a better appreciation may be gained through a critical use of the methodologies endorsed by the 'linguistic turn,' such as those implemented by Quentin Skinner.[6] Starting from the premise that every act of communication implies the acceptance or rejection of current beliefs, Skinner argues that a correct comprehension of discursive acts (oral or written) depends on deciphering their argumentative intention.[7] This can be obtained through the contextualization of their language in relation to other discursive acts. This historical reconstruction avoids misconceptions based on a-historical and self-sufficient interpretations of texts and speeches. At the same time, it also prevents giving too much attention to the subjective motives of the author. Using Skinner's methodology for the study of the *Catholic Doctrine* allows us to be more susceptible to its argumentation than to its sources, and hence shift the historiographical approaches. Therefore, rather than seeing such texts as mere

2 Cf. Nina Rowe, *The Jew, the Cathedral and the Medieval City: Synagoga and Ecclesia in the Thirteenth Century*, Cambridge, 2014.

3 David Nirenberg, *Anti-Judaism: The Western Tradition*, New York, 2014.

4 E.g. the aforementioned studies of I.S. Révah in note 2.

5 Fernão Ximenes d'Aragão, *Doutrina catholica para instrucçaõ e cõfirmaçaõ dos fieis e extinçaõ das seitas supersticiosas e em particular do Judaismo*, Lisboa, 1625.

6 *"If we succeed in identifying this context with sufficient accuracy, we can eventually hope to read off what it was that the speaker or writer in whom we are interested was doing in saying what he or she said"* (Quentin Skinner, "Interpretation and Understanding of Speech Acts," in *Visions of Politics, Volume I, Regarding Method*, Cambridge, 2002, p. 116).

7 Idem, p. 115; idem, "Motives, Intentions and the Interpretation of Texts," in James Tully ed., *Meaning and Context: Quenton Skinner and his Critics*, Princeton, 1988, pp. 68–78.

byproducts of a long-lasting cultural tradition or a concrete historical reality, it is possible to understand them as bearing arguments and, eventually, as agents of change. In sum, the methodology of the 'linguistic turn' could bestow to polemical religious texts, such as the *Catholic Doctrine*, its full political dimension for endorsing performative utterances.

In fact, during the last few years some anti-Converso texts have been analysed by using approaches that consider the socio-political contexts of their production.[8] This has proved very fruitful in revealing that the arguments and motives behind these discourses are critical to understand broader fundamental issues relating to government, society, religion or economy in the Iberian peninsula and beyond. In this way, many attacks on the New Christians turned out to be metonymic means of political vindication.[9] But the analysis of anti-rabbinic texts, such as the *Catholic Doctrine*, require a more complex method that include a contextualization of their language and arguments, because they do not show a direct relation to their immediate socio-political contexts. Could this be an example of a discursive act that does not engage with its present, but with distant realities? If so, is the *contra iudaeos* genre in the context of early modern Portugal, where there were no Jews and rabbis, itself a performative act?

In order to better explain this hermeneutical problem, let me recall that in *From the Spanish Court to the Italian Ghetto*, Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi pointed out the unusual language of Xiemenes de Aragão's *Catholic Doctrine* compared to that employed in most anti-Jewish works in circulation in the Iberian Peninsula at the time. For Yerushalmi, the *Catholic Doctrine* showed closer similarities with literature then in vogue in Italy. According to this historian, during the seventeenth century the *contra iudaeos* genre had acquired markedly opposing characteristics in the two peninsulas:

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8 Francisco de Quevedo, *Execración contra los judíos*, Fernando Cabo Aseguinolaza and Santiago Fernández Mosquera eds., Barcelona, 1996; Claude B. Stuczynski, "El antisemitismo de Francisco de Quevedo: obsesivo o residual? Apuntes crítico-bibliográficos en torno a la publicación de la *Execración contra los judíos*," *Sefarad* 57 (1997), pp. 195–204; Juan Ignacio Pulido Serrano, *Injurias a Cristo: religión, política y antijudaísmo en el siglo XVII* (*análisis de las corrientes antijudías durante la Edad Moderna*), Alcalá, 2002; idem, "Sacrilegios judíos? Análisis de un modelo antisemita," in Pere Joan i Tous & Heike Nottebaum eds., *El olivo y la espada; estudios sobre el antisemitismo en España* (*siglos XVI–XX*), Tübingen, 2003, pp. 175–194; Martin A. Cohen, *The Canonization of a Myth: Portugal's "Jewish Problem" and the Assembly of Tomar 1629*, Cincinnati, 2002. François Soyer, *Popularizing Anti-Semitism in Early Modern Spain and its Empire. Francisco de Torrejoncillo and the "Centinela contra Judios"* (*1674*), Leiden/Boston, 2014, pp. 3–18.

9 Cf. Antonio de Oliveira, *Poder e oposição política em Portugal no período filipino* (*1580–1640*), Lisboa, 1990.

> The Italian works are, by and large, conversionist in their aim and approach. Their general objective is not to denigrate the Jew per se, but rather to belittle and ridicule Jewish beliefs, in the hope of bringing the Jew to acknowledge Christ as savior, and the Christian faith as superior to his own. The Spanish and Portuguese tracts, however, are not really aimed at conversion, for the "Jews" to whom they speak are already, formally at least, baptized Christians. There it is the very person of the 'Jew,' his humanity, his biological endowments which are necessarily the objects of attack. Costa Mattos' cry, *Pouco sangue Judeo he bastante a destruyr o mundo* (A Little Jewish blood is enough to destroy the world!), is characteristically Iberian.[10]

It is true that a quick glance at the *Catholic Doctrine* seems to confirm its "Italian character."[11] Divided into twenty chapters, this work combines anti-rabbinic polemic in its traditional forms with an apologetic argumentation of post-Tridentine characteristics. While the first chapter starts from the premise that Biblical Judaism prefigured Christianity, chapters eleven to fifteen, and twenty—which is a response to the "seven scandals" for which the Jews purportedly reproach Christianity—attempt to demonstrate the truth of Christian supersessionism.[12] Chapters two to eight present the "excellencies" of Catholicism: the nature of its prophecies and miracles, its successful missionary work, the punishment of the Jews for denying Jesus as the God-Messiah, and the exemplary lives of its saints and martyrs. Chapters seventeen and eighteen quote rabbinic authorities ("*seus Doctores Talmudistas*"),

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10 Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi, *From Spanish Court to Italian Ghetto. Isaac Cardoso: a Study in Seventeenth-Century Marranism and Jewish Apologetics*, Seattle, 1981, pp. 415–416. For the anti-Converso radicalism of Costa Mattos, see Moisés Orfali, "Le 'Breve discurso contra a heretica perfidia do judaismo' de Vicente da Costa Mattos," in Henry Méchoulan et Gérard Nahon eds., *Mémorial I.-S. Révah; études sur le marranisme, l'hétérodoxie juive et Spinoza*, Paris, 2001, pp. 403–421. Cf. Maria Idelina Resina Rodrigues, "Literatura e antisemitismo- séculos XVI e XVII," *Brotéria*, vol. CIX (1979), pp. 41–56, 137–153; Josette Riandiere-La Roche, "Du discours d'exclusion des Juifs: antijudaïsme ou antisemitisme?" in Agustín Redondo ed., *Les problèmes d'exclusion en Espagne* (*XVI^e–XVII^e*), Paris, 1982, pp. 51–75.

11 Cf. The synopsis of the work by António Ribeiro dos Santos, "Ensayo de huma Bibliotheca Lusitana Anti-Rabbinica, ou Memorial dos Escritores Portuguezes que escreverão de Controvérsia Anti-judaica," in *Memórias de Literatura Portuguesa*, vol. VI, Lisboa, 1806.

12 The purported "scandals" are that: Christians do not observe the "Law of God," they oppose the divine character of the Messiah and humanity of God, and of redemption through the Crucifixion, the Trinity, and the cult of images.

to prove that the rejection of Christianity had been a conscious manoeuvring of a deceitful Jewish leadership, who while knowing the real identity of the Messiah, had chosen to deny it. Chapter nineteen, on the other hand, aimed to reflect the reality of Converso "Judaism" in Portugal, highlighting religious dissimulation as its most idiosyncratic trait ("*o qual he particular deste reyno*"). Accordingly, "the Jews of this kingdom . . . believe that they can avow Christ, denying him with their hearts."[13]

According to Ximenes d'Aragão, Portuguese Conversos justified their Jewish clandestine beliefs in minimalistic terms, following the principle that "it is enough for a person to be saved by keeping the faith of their Messiah in the heart, although denying that with the mouth and by the external cult" ("*basta ter no coração a fè daquelle seu Messias pera huã pessoa se saluar nella, ainda que com a boca & o culto exterior o negue*"). This type of "Jewish nicodemism" was seen by the author as "diabolical," since it had been condemned by both the Old and New Testaments. Moreover, he added, it was "created by men of flesh and blood who live without God, law and reason, their lives and deaths not being that of human beings, but of beasts." Perhaps, he was echoing a long-lasting phenomenon of religious skepticism, originally spread within late medieval Sephardic Jews and then among Conversos, which was identified by Yitzhak Baer as "Jewish Averroism."[14] However, this could stem also from a by then widespread formulaic rejection of any kind of religious dissimulation, be it Jewish, Muslim or Christian, described as a result of debased hedonism.[15] But besides this particular chapter, the argument presented by the *Catholic Doctrine* was based on an anti-rabbinical rhetoric already established by Raimundo Martí in his "Pugio Fidei" (c. 1280), while its Catholic apologetic contents were fed by Counter Reformation literature, mainly by Cesare Baronio's "Annales Ecclesiastici" (1588–1607). Therefore, it seems that the *Catholic Doctrine* argued

13 "[*O*]*s Judeos deste Reyno, . . . crem, que pódem confessar a Christo com a boca, negando-o com o coraçaõ"* (Ximenes de Aragão, *Doutrina Católica*, fol. 102 v).

14 *". . .& ser inuentada pella carne, & sangue, & por home*[n]*s que viueraõ sem Deos, & sem ley, nem rezaõ: & sua vida, & morte foy naõ de home*[n]*s, mas de brutos"* (idem, índex s.p.). Yizhak Baer, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, 2 vols., Philadelphia, 1966, pp. 253–259. Cf. Francisco Márquez Villanueva, " 'Nacer e morir como bestias': criptojudaísmo y criptoaverroísmo," in Anita Novinsky & Maria Luiza Tucci Carneiro eds., *Inquisição; ensaios sobre mentalidade, heresias e arte*, Rio de Janeiro, 1992, pp. 11–34; Yosef Kaplan, "Foi et scepticisme dans la diaspora des nouveaux-chrétiens des débuts de l'Europe moderne," in *Arquivos do Centro Cultural Calouste Gulbenkian*, 48 (2004), pp. 21–40.

15 E.g. Perez Zagorin, *Ways of Lying: Dissimulation, Persecution and Conformity in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge, Mass., 1990.

with "virtual" Jews rather than with "real" Conversos.[16] And yet, Ximenes de Aragão states explicitly that his reason for writing the book was "the blindness and the Jewish nonsense that roams through this Kingdom, and the desire and zeal to redress that."[17]

In 1628, a second edition of the *Catholic Doctrine* was published, corrected and enlarged by the author under the title, *Extinction of Judaism and of Other Superstitious Sects and Exaltation of the Only True Christian Religion, Given by God to Men to Obtain Salvation* [*"Extincam do judaismo, e mais seitas supersticiosas: e exaltacam da so verdadeira religiao christaa, dada por Deos a os homes para por ella serem salvos*], hereafter, *Extinction of Judaism*.[18] For this edition, the author employed the Italian anti-rabbinic work *De arcanis catholicae veritatis* (1518) by Pietro Colonna Galatino (believed to be of Jewish ancestry), without fully exploring its cabalistic contents. To this must be added the anti-rabbinical and catechetical *Scrutinium Scripturarum* (1434), written by the Castilian Converso Rabbi Salomon Halevi/Pablo de Santa María, as well as the pietistic influential tract, *Introduction to the Symbol of the Faith* (*Introducción al Símbolo de la Fe* (1583)), of Fray Luis de Granada.[19] In the first edition, the

16 Robert Chazan, "From Friar Paul to Friar Raymond: The Development of Innovative Missionizing Argumentation," *Harvard Theological Review*, 76,3 (1983), pp. 289–306; Syds Wiersma, "The Dynamic of Religious Polemics: The Case of Raymond Martin (ca. 1220–ca. 1285)," in Marcel Poorthuis, Joshua Schwartz, Joseph Turner eds., *Interaction between Judaism and Christianity in History, Religion, Art and Literature*, Leiden, 2009, pp. 201–217; Cyriac K. Pullapilly, *Caesar Baronius, Counter-Reformation Historian*, Notre Dame, Indiana, 1975.

17 "[*C*]*omo a causa principal, que me moveo a escrever, foy a cegueira, e desatinos Judaicos, que neste Reyno andaõ, e o desejo, e zelo de os remediar"* (Ximenes de Aragão, *Doutrina Católica*, fol. 3r). In the licence granted for the imprint of the *Catholic Doctrine* from 22 October 1624, Friar Thomas de S. Domingos, referred to the aim of converting the "Jews" living "with us" in Portugal (*"não tem cousa que impida poderse imprimir, antes me pareceo muy docta, & toda ella muy a proposito pera se cõuencerem os cegos Iudeos de nossos tempos q viuem entre nòs"*)

18 Fernão Ximenes de Aragão, *Extinçam do judaismo, e mais seitas supersticiosas: e exaltaçam da só verdadeira religiaõ christaã, dada por Deos aos homes para por ella serem salvos*, Lisboa, 1628.

19 Gareth Lloyd Jones, "Paul of Burgos and the "'Adversus Judaeos' Tradition," *Henoch*, 21,3 (1999), pp. 313–329; Javier Martinez de Bedoya, *La segunda parte del 'Scrutinium Scripturarum' de Pablo de Santa Maria, "El dialogo catequetico,"* Roma, 2002; Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggemann, "Political Theology in Renaissance Christian Kabbala: Petrus Galatinus and Guillaume Postel," *Hebraic Political Studies*, 1,3 (2006), pp. 286–309. Cf. Adriana Lewis Galanes, "Fray Luis de Granada y los "anuzim" novohispanos a fines del siglo XVI," in Ronald E. Surtz et al. eds., *Américo Castro; the Impact of His Thought*, Madison, 1988, pp. 163–172. Yosi Yisraeli, "Between Jewish and Christian Scholarship in the

author had already adopted a similar argumentation to that of Santa Maria and Granada, highlighting the positive role that Jews played before the advent of Christianity, during the gestation of the Church, and in the development of the future history of mankind's salvation.[20] Likewise, he explained that if the Jews' own sources were properly employed to refute Judaism, the evangelizing process would have greater success. This explains why the second edition included in its appendix "a tract which I gave the moderate and appropriate title of Key of the Law and Prophets."[21] This title recalls the great eschatological and evangelizing project, the "Clavis Prophetarum," later written by the pro-Converso Jesuit father, António Vieira (1608–1697).[22] Thus, when summarizing the *Catholic Doctrine*, it is possible to infer, as did Yerushalmi, that this was one of the few early-modern anti-rabbinic tracts written "from the pen of an Iberian Christian which, as though oblivious to peninsular realities, is aimed at the conversion of "Jews."[23]

Nevertheless, the panorama proposed by Yerushalmi is too rigidly dichotomous. Bruno Feitler has shown that other anti-rabbinical texts against the Conversos circulated in Portugal during the early modern period, but of an evangelizing nature.[24] Lusitanian Catholicism allowed and promoted the combination of both tendencies. This resulted in tensions between evangelical conversionistic overtones and strongly derogatory rhetoric. Even a staunch anti-Converso writer like Vicente da Costa Mattos was unable to fully enforce his essentialistic ideas. He had to publicly declare the Catholic compatibility of his radical anti-Converso arguments in the introduction of the second edition

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Fifteenth Century: The Consolidation of 'Converso Doctrine' in the Theological Writings of Pablo Santa María," Phd Diss. Tel-Aviv, 2014.

20 E.g. (*"…pois sendo assi que atè a morte de Christo, esteue o mundo todo por fora nesta cegueira da idolatria tirado o pequeno canto de Israel"*) (Ximenes de Aragão, *Doutrina Católica*, fol. 7 v); (*"que os nossos Euangelistas forão da mesma nação dos Iudeos, & criados, & conhecidos entre elles…"*) (idem, fol. 20 r); (*"…nào fallando ja nos infinitos varões doutsissimos, & sanctissimos, que sendo insignes em letras de vossa mesma nação alumiado da verdade, se conuerterão em todos os tempos á nossa sancta fè, & forão grande colunas da Igreja, alumiandoa com seus escritos…"*) (idem, fols. 100 r–101 v).

21 *"[H]um tratado que puz o titolo suaue, & conueniente de Chaue da Ley, & dos Prophetas"* (Ximenes d'Aragão, *Extinçam do judaísmo*, "Carta que escreveo o Arcediago Fernão Ximenes de Aragão sobre o presente livro, a D. André dºAlmada, Lente Iubilado de prima de sancta Theologia na Vniversidade de Coimbra," fol. vi).

22 António Vieira, *Clavis Prophetarum Chave dos Profetas, Livro III*, Arnaldo do Espíritu Santo ed., Lisboa, 2000. Cf. Silvano Peloso, *Antonio Vieira e l'Impero universale. La "Clavis Prophetarum" e i documenti inquisitoriali*, Viterbo, 2005.

23 Yerushalmi, *From Spanish Court to Italian Ghetto*. p. 416, n. 4.

24 Bruno Feitler, "O catolicismo como ideal: produção literária antijudaica no mundo português da idade moderna," *Novos Estudos Cebrap*, 72 (jullho 2005), pp. 137–158.

of his vitriolic *Brief Discourse against the Heretical Perfidy of Judaism* (*Breve discurso contra a herética perfidia do judaísmo*, 1623, first edition, 1622), by stating that he never intended to call all New Christians "Jews," but "only" the Judaizers.[25] According to Feitler, the *Catholic Doctrine* was one of those cases in which rejection and evangelization are found together. At the same time, he added that while the 1625 edition appeared to have more inclusivist aims, "in the revision of the book he made three years afterwards, Aragão let down the evangelical mask," choosing to call it "Extinction of Judaism."[26]

Now, if the final intention of Ximenes de Aragão was to reject rather than evangelize the Conversos, how can we explain the contents of the first edition? And why did the author decide to be more explicit and radical in the second edition? In order to answer these questions, we first need to compare the texts of both editions of the *Catholic Doctrine* and then their "para-texts" (that is to say, "those things in a published work that accompany the text, such as the author's name, the title, preface, introduction, or illustrations"[27]).

Texts and Para-texts

As we have seen, the texts of the *Catholic Doctrine* were explicitly aimed towards conversion through polemics. As I have already noted, despite the fact that the second edition was titled *Extinction of Judaism*, it included more evangelical sources than the first edition. Thus, we should understand "extinction" to mean the desire to uproot (crypto) Judaism from Portugal, but not the collec-

25 Vicente da Costa Mattos, *Breve discurso contra a herética perfidia do judaismo continuada nos prezentes apostatas de nossa Santa Fe. Com que onvem a expulsão dos delinquentes nella dos reynos de sua Magestade: con suas mulheres e filhos*, Lisboa, 1622, fols. 82 v–84 r. In the prologues of his second edition (idem, *Breve discurso contra a herética perfídia do judaísmo* Lisboa, 1623) he clarified: *"[p]rimeiramente, antes de outra cousa, declaro, que tudo quanto escreuo neste discurso, he conformãdome com o que tem, crêem & professa a sancta Madre Igreja de Roma offerecendoo, como fiel filho obediente della, a correição dos que deputou para emenda destas, & de outras cousas: & que meu intento he so aproueitar com esta lição a todos os Fieis de qualquer calidade que sejão, sem exeição de pessoas, nem entendendo nunca por Iudeos, saluo os que apartados da Igreja, apostatando da Fe, que deuião manter, se castigão, & se conhecem por taes."*

26 Feitler, "O catolicismo como ideal: produção literária antijudaica no mundo português da idade moderna," p. 143; Cf. Maria Luiza Tucci Carneiro, *Preconceito racial: Portugal e Brasil-colônia*, São-Paulo, 1988, p. 133.

27 Gérard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, Cambridge, 1997, p. 1.

tivity of its "New Christians." These were not the only messages of the *Catholic Doctrine*. Its para-texts also contain important complementary information.

Let us begin by briefly analyzing the covers of the editions of the *Catholic Doctrine* as possibly reflecting changes in the above mentioned attitudes of the author. The cover of the first edition is decorated with two lateral engravings of Old-Testament themes. One of them depicts the deadly effects of original sin (Genesis 2:17), while the other represents a bronze serpent (Numbers 21:9), both of which were typologically interpreted as the redemption of sins through faith in Christ. This iconography is crowned by a protective image of Jesus Christ, complemented by verses from the New Testament (John 5:39, 2 Corinthians 13:10, Ephesians 1:10), denoting that the means to attain truth and plenitude are laid down in the Scriptures [fig. 4.1].[28]

None of this appears in the cover of the second edition, except for the expanded reproduction of Ximenes de Aragão's heraldry, decorated by an ecclesiastical hat conveying his position as archdeacon of Santa Cristina's see in Braga, and as a graduate in Canon Law by the University of Coimbra [fig. 4.2]. Apparently, the evangelical optimism found on the cover of the *Catholic Doctrine*, gave way to what may be seen as a more detached view in the *Extinction of Judaism*. If this is true, how can we reconcile the cover with the conversionist character of the second edition text? In reality, all of the works published by the author after 1625 went through the same iconographic transformations [figs. 4.3, 4, 5]. Were these changes, perhaps, the result of editorial decisions made by the Craesbeeck press?[29] Or should we attribute them to the author's quest for self-promotion? I believe that part of an answer to these questions can be found in the prologues of both editions.

The first edition of the *Catholic Doctrine* was dedicated to Portugal's Inquisitor General, D. Fernão Martins Mascarenhas. According to the prologue, the book was presented as the ultimate means to eradicate the "plague" and "punishment" that was "Judaism" in Portugal.[30] In writing the *Catholic*

28 The iconography in the cover of the first edition of the *Catholic Doctrine* was based on the cover of one of his earlier works: *Libro de la restauracion y renovacion del hombre*, Lisboa, 1608 [fig. 3].

29 Cf. João José Alves Dias ed., *Craesbeeck: uma dinastia de impressores em Portugal. Elementos para o seu estudo*, Lisboa, 1996.

30 *"Esta praga do Iudaismo, que por castigo de Deos anda neste Reyno, & deitou raizes nelle"* (Ximenes d'Aragão, "Ao illustrissimo e reverendissimo Senhor Bispo Dom Fernão Martins Mascarenhas, Inquisidor Geral do Reyno de Portugal", *Doutrina Católica*, fol, VI.). In modern Iberia, the Conversos had been the focus of discussions on Providence Cf. Claude B. Stuczynski, "Providentialism in Early Modern Catholic Iberia: Competing Influences of Hebrew Political Traditions," *Hebraic Political Studies*, Vol. 3, No. 4 (Fall 2008), pp. 377–395.

DOVTRINA
CATHOLICA
PARA INSTRVCÇAÕ E CÕ-
firmaçaõ dos fieis: E extinçaõ das
seitas supersticiosas: Em parti-
cular do Judaismo.
POR FERNAÕ X. DE ARAGAÕ
Arced.º de S. christ.al na S. Se
de Br.a Primas das Hespanhas
graduado em Ca-
nones.
POTESTATEM DEDI VOBIS DNS
Non in destructionem sed in edificationem
Em Lisboa Por P. Craesbeeck, Anno de 1625.
Com todas as Ordinarias.

FIGURE 4.1 *Doutrina catholica para instrucçaõ e cõfirmaçaõ dos fieis e extinçaõ das seitas supersticiosas e em particular do Judaismo, Lisboa: 1625.*

FIGURE 4.2 *Extinçam do judaismo, e mais seitas supersticiosas: e exaltaçam da só verdadeira religiaõ christaã, dada por Deos aos homes para por ella serem salvos, Lisboa: 1628.*

Doctrine, Ximenes de Aragão hoped to complement the inquisitorial repression of Converso Judaizers, supporting demands for the expulsion (or at least irremissible prison) to all those condemned by the Holy Office for crimes of "Judaism." The argument he offered for such demands was based on experience: "since almost all the convinced heretics remain heretical, and it was unusual to find one who truly was reduced to the faith." Ximenes de Aragão recalled that back in 1616 he had sent to Martins Marscarenhas a similar proposal, which had been positively received by the Inquisitor General.[31] This was probably linked to the suggestions that Martins Mascarenhas sent

31 *"lembrame que entrando V.S. illustrissima a gouernar este sancto Tribunal, no anno de 616, mãdei a V.S. hum papel, em que se mostraua com fundamentos concludentes, que para se atalhar, & extinguir o incendio da heregia que estaua leuantado neste Reyno, não somente era remedio conueniente o da separação dos penitenciados, mas precisamente necessario, & V.S. me respõdeo em sua carta, que inda tenho, que ficaua determinado a por o peito à empresa, & e leuala ao cabo contra o poder todo o inferno"* (Ximenes d'Aragão, "Ao illustris-

FIGURE 4.3 *Libro de la restauracion y renovacion del hombre, Lisboa: 1608.*

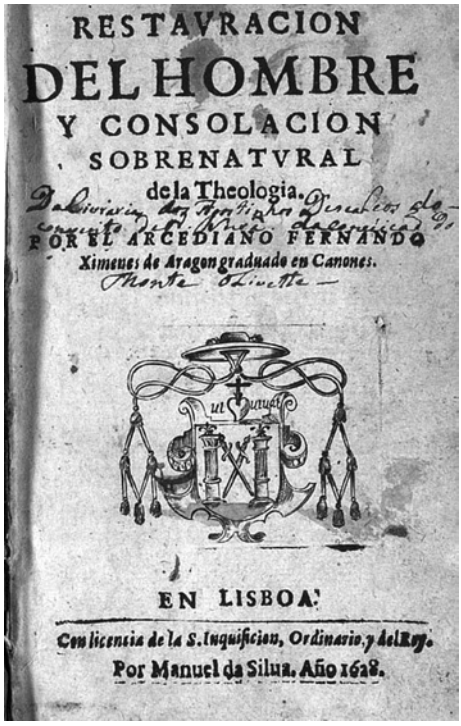

FIGURE 4.4 *Restauracion del hombre y consolacion sobrenatural de la Theologia, Lisboa: 1628.*

to the Spanish king Philip IV in 1622, and which would be further elaborated in the *Treatise on the Various Means Offered to His Catholic Majesty to Remedy Judaism in this Kingdom of Portugal* [*Tratado sobre os varios meyos, que se offerecerao a sua Magestade Catholica para remedio do judaismo neste Reyno de Portugal* (1625)], attributed to Martins Mascarenhas, albeit written by his protége, the Jesuit Father Diogo de Areda.[32] Moreover, the second edition of the

simo e reverendissimo Senhor Bispo Dom Fernão Martins Mascarenhas, Inquisidor Geral do Reyno de Portugal," *Doutrina Católica*, fol. VIII).

32 *Tratado sobre os varios meyos, que se offereceraõ a sua Magestade Catholica para remedio do judaismo neste Reyno de Portugal*, S.l.: s.n., ca. 1625. For a description of this tract, see Reuven Faingold, "The 'New Christian Problem' in Portugal: 1601–1625," *Zion*, LIV (1989), pp. 379–400 (in Hebrew). In the prologue of Ximenes de Aragão's "Extinção do Judaísmo" Martins Mascarenhas is mentioned as the possible author, since it was stated that years before, *"annos passados"* (1622?), he sent to King Philip IV the means to solve the Converso problem (Henry Charles Lea, *A History of the Spanish Inquisition of Spain*, New York and London, 1906–1907, vol. III, pp. 275–276). In fact, the author of this tract was one of

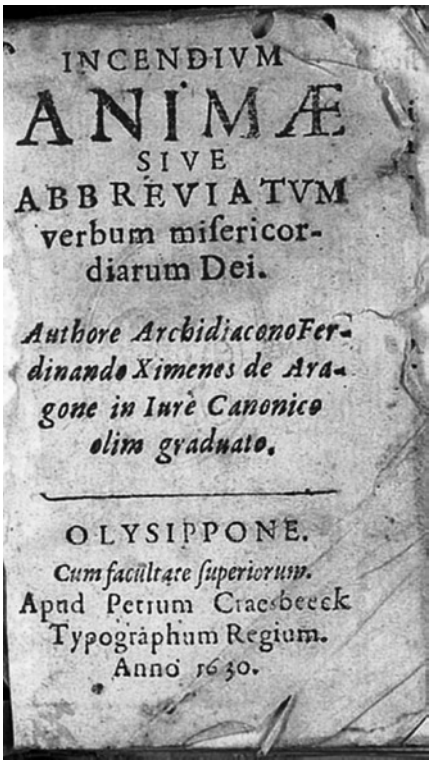

FIGURE 4.5 *Incendium animae sive abbreviatum verbum misericordiarum Dei, Lisboa: 1630.*

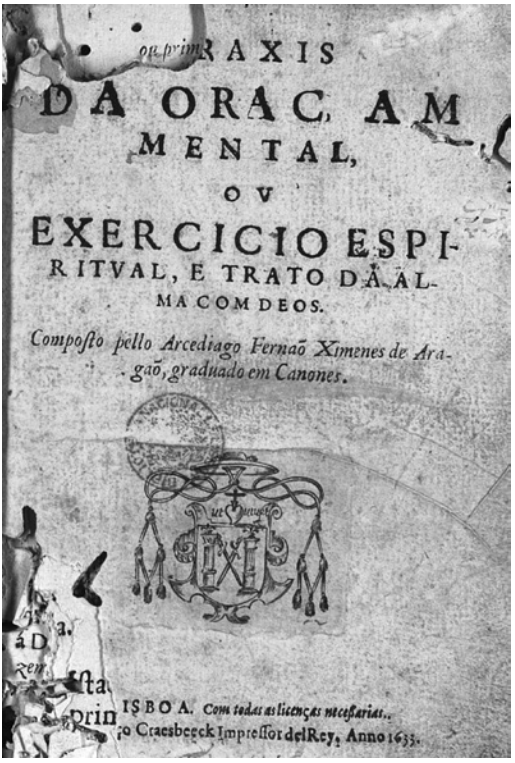

FIGURE 4.6 *Praxis da oraçam mental, ou exercicio espiritual, e trato da alma com Deos, Lisboa: 1633.*

Catholic Doctrine followed two of the six suggestions of the tract attributed to Martins Mascarenhas: to allow free emigration of Conversos so that the

Martins Mascarenhas' protegés, the Jesuit Father Diogo de Areda, as mentioned in the eulology he pronounced after the death of his Maecenas (Cf. Diogo de Areda, *Sermam que o Padre Diogo de Areda . . . pregou nas exequias, que o Sancto Officio mandou fazer na Igreja de S. Roque de Lisboa . . ., ao . . . Bispo Dom Fernão Martins Mascarenhas . . .* Em Lisboa: by Pedro Craesbeeck, 1628). For the character of this Inquisitor General who held a militant vision of the Holy See while also promoting some Conversos, see José Pedro Paiva, "Mascarenhas, Fernão Martins," in Adriano Prosperi, Vicenzo Lavenia and John Tedeschi eds., *Dizionario Storico dell'Inquisizione*, Pisa, 2010, vol. II, pp. 1004–1006. On Father Diogo de Areda's views on Conversos, see Claude B. Stuczynski, "Negotiating Relationship: Jesuit and Portuguese *Conversos*- A Reassessment," in James Bernauer and Robert A. Maryks eds., *"The Tragic Couple": Encounters Between Jews and Jesuits*, Leiden/Boston, 2014, pp. 43–61.

heretics in disguise may not contaminate the faithful, and the expulsion of those convicted as commited Judaizers by the Holy Office.[33]

In the same prologue we also read that Ximenes de Aragão's book was designed as "a plain means to see and learn the Catholic truth, without fearing any harm; thus, with these teachings the faithful will be better confirmed in the faith, the weak will improve, and the blind will be deceived and reduced."[34] From this excerpt, we can infer that the book was directed towards a very heterogeneous group of Conversos, amongst which were those that remained "blind" to the true faith. Could these be the same "convinced heretics" to which the author previously called for inquisitorial prosecution and expulsion? It is precisely in the two prologues of the second edition of the *Catholic Doctrine* where we can find the tensions between the persuasive intents of the anti-rabbinic text and the repressive character of some of its para-texts.

The first prologue of the *Extinction of Judaism* is an epistolary exchange between the author and Andrés de Almada, a retired professor of Theology from the University of Coimbra. In this exchange, Ximenes de Aragão considered his *Catholic Doctrine* as a catechism for the Conversos, and recalled a similar initiative previously suggested by the authoritative, deceased, Bishop of Portalegre, Frei Amador de Arrais in his *Dialogos* (1589).[35] But in the second prologue of the book, which was now addressed to Pope Urban VIII, Ximenes de Aragão implicitly acknowledged that Frei Arrais abandoned his own initiative. We know that according to Frei Arrais, writing catechisms specifically aimed to refute the Law of Moses was indeed an important but risky task, since

33 Ximenes de Aragão, *Extinção do Judaísmo*, "Dedicatória", fols. XVII–XVIII.

34 *"de se diuulgar doutrina q*[*ue*] *seja como arte em que se possa ver & aprender claramente as verdades Catholicas*, sem *pejo, nem temor de dano, pera q*[*ue*] *com esta lição os fieis se confirmem mais na fé, os fracos se esforcem, & os cegos se desenganem, & reduzão a ella"* (Idem, *Doutrina Católica*, "Ao illustrissimo e reverendissimo Senhor Bispo Dom Fernão Martins Mascarenhas, Inquisidor Geral do Reyno de Portugal," fol. VII).

35 *"Este he o liuro, & feito està ha anno & meyo, & pareceme que se consegue p desejo do Bispo de Portalegre no seu Dialogo da gente Iudaica capit, pen. & ult. que fico dando á Igreja Cathacismo que desfas os erros Iudaicos sem temor dos danos dos argumentos cõtrarios"* (Ximenes de Aragão, "Carta, que escreveo o arcediago Fernão Ximenes de Aragão," *Extinção do Judaísmo*, fols. IV–VIII) Trying to obtain the true conversion of 'Jews,' one of the fictitious characters of the "Diálogos" by Arrais, the hidalgo Aureliano, responded to Antíoco: *"Antes vos digo que s eo juízo me não mente, fareis um assinalado serviço à Igreja Católica, se destas tão qualificadas razões e doutros* [*sic*] *discursos que entendi irdes cortando por abreviar, ordenásseis* (*dando-vos Deus fôrças para isso*) *algum Sumário em forma de catecismo, do qual me parece se deveria esperar bom sucesso na conversão desta gente, porque enfim a verdade e razão tudo acabam"* (Cf. Frei Amador Arrais, *Diálogos, selecção, pref. e notas Fidelino de Figueiredo*, Lisboa, 1981, pp. 56–57).

"astute" Conversos could easily divert the rabbinical data of these polemical texts for their own heretical purposes.[36] Through other sources we also know that the Archduke Alberto, Viceroy of Portugal from 1583 to 1594, had proposed to the ecclesiastic authorities the idea of creating a catechism adapted to the needs of the "New Christians." His proposal, however, did not receive the support from the high ecclesiastic authorities of Portugal, including Frei Arrais, for the reasons above mentioned.[37] This may explain why in the prologues of both editions Ximenes de Aragão felt the need to justify the publication of his work, explaining that he had been motivated to write it by "learned people," such as the Inquisitor General, Fernão Martins Mascarenhas, and the theology professor, Andrés de Almada. From the latter's response, included in the first prologue of the *Extinction of Judaism*, we learn that he had tried to appease any apprehension to publish the *Catholic Doctrine*. He even argued that Ximenes de Aragão's book could not be misused by Converso Judaizers, since it followed the invective rhetoric uttered during the sermons given at autos-de-fe.[38] This answer, however, seriously questioned the evangelical aims of the text, for the autos-de-fe were means of religious instruction through fear, not persuasion.[39]

The harmonistic interpretation given by Andrés de Almada, however, was not completely outrageous. Besides the possibility, suggested by Feitler, of being able to conjoin evangelization with rejection in the same anti-Converso

36 Ximenes de Aragão (*Extinção do Judaísmo*, "Dedicatória", fols. xi–xxii) admited: *"que nesta doutrina comece a ter effeito o cathasismo contra a seita Iudaica, que hum nosso Bispo deseiaua que ouuesse na Igreja de Deos; & não lhe parecia factiuel: pellos muitos subterfugios de que usavão os mestres dos Iudeos nos seus argumentos: que se temia que fosse mayor o dano que se fizesse com elle, que o proueito . . ."* This contention was encapsulated by Frei Amador de Arrais in the title of chapter 35 of the third dialogue "Da gente Iudaica", in this way: *"Que humanamente parece não ter remédio a obstinação dos judeus, per via de disputas, & argumentos,"* (Arrais, *Diálogos*, p. 57). Furthermore, Arrais recalled the case of the catechetical text "Scrutinium Scripturarum" by Pablo de Santa Maria (used by Ximenes d'Aragão) to justify his hostility: *"Não foi só Paulo Burgense, mas foram outros muitos os que nisto empregaram muito tempo, trabalho e erudição, mas nunca soubemos que sua boa diligência tivesse com esta nação outro efeito se não foi dar-lhes aviso para se armarem de respostas e defesa de sua crença"* (idem, p. 60).

37 António Baião, *A Inquisição em Portugal e no Brasil. Subsídios para a sua história*, Lisboa, 1920, pp. 39–41.

38 Ximenes de Aragão, *Extinção do Judaísmo*, "Resposta de Don Andre d`Almada ao Arcediago Fernão Ximenes", fols. ix–x. Cf. Edward Glaser, "Invitation to Intolerance: A Study of the Portuguese Sermons Preached at Autos da Fe," *Hebrew Union College Annual*, 27, 1956, pp. 327–385.

39 Bartolomé Bennassar, "L'Inquisition ou la pédagogie de la peur", in idem ed., *L'Inquisition espagnole xv^e^–xix^e^ siècle*, Paris, 1979, pp. 101–137.

text, some were able to effectively transform the *Catholic Doctrine* into a triumphalist ornament of inquisitorial repression. Proof of this can be found in the third and last edition of this work, now titled: *Triumph of the Catholic Religion against Jewish Pertinacy, or Compendium of the True Faith* [*Triunfo da religiao catholica contra a pertinacia do judaismo, ou Compendio da verdadeira fe*, (1752)]. Decorated with the emblem of the Holy Office,[40] this posthumous edition of the *Catholic Doctrine* did not include the prologues of its antecedents, but it did add a new section called "Dogmatic Exhortation" ("Exhortaçaõ Dogmática"). This appendix, however, was not written by Fernão Ximenes de Aragão, as it may seem. I was able to identify it as being a transcription of a sermon pronounced by a *calificador* of the Holy Office (i.e. an officer of the Inquisition appointed to examine theological issues), named Francisco Pedroso, during an auto-de-fe held in Lisbon on 9 July 1713.[41] Based on Jeremiah 5:11–12, this sermon explicitly acknowledged that Inquisitorial fear cannot "soften the hearts" of heretics.[42] At the same time, any persuasive argument against Converso Judaizers was doomed to failure, "because their blindness is more in their hearts than in their minds."[43] Pedroso was thus implicitly arguing that neither Ximenes de Aragão's book, nor the inquisitorial activities in which he was involved, could really "convert" a Converso Judaizer. In other words, the Inquisition *calificador* was celebrating an evangelical failure.

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40 Fernão Ximenes de Aragão, *Triunfo da religiaõ catholica contra a pertinacia do judaismo, ou, Compendio da verdadeira fé*, Lisboa, 1752.

41 Idem, pp. 483–523. In that text the author of the sermon presented the actions of the Holy Office as a means to bring awarness of the 'blindness' in which the Judaizers lived, "reducing" those that were lost, and redirecting the "wayward" to the proper path (pp. 520, 523): *"pois nos corações mais que nos entendimentos consiste a sua cegeuira"* (p. 518). This sermon mentioned a condemned woman released to the secular branch: *"E vós, a quem a vossa desgraça reduzio á extrema miseria, em que vos vejo relaxada á justiça secular, vos lembro, que com tempo abrais os olhos ao desengano. Em breves horas vos vereis em outro Tribunal do Juizo Divino muito mais circunspecto, e severo, do que ao presente estais"* (p. 522). Cf. Alfonso Casuto, *Bibliografia dos Sermões de Autos-de-Fe impressos* (*Descrição bibliográfica da colecção do autor*), Coimbra, 1955, pp. 49–51. I would like to thank my friend and bibliophile Roberto Bachmann for having brought my attention to this inquisitorial sermon.

42 *"Mas eu, irmãos caríssimos, naõ quizera levar este negocio só por via de temor, mas também de amor"* (Ximenes de Aragão, *Triunfo da religiaõ catholica contra a pertinacia do judaismo*, p. 521).

43 *"*[*P*]*ois nos corações mais que nos entendimentos consiste a sua cegueira"* (Idem, p. 518), and also: *" mas ainda assim temo ter errado o tiro, pelo ter feito principalmente á cabeça, quando o devia fazer principalmente ao peito"* (idem, p. 519).

Five years before the publication of that late edition of the *Catholic Doctrine*, the "Bibliotheca Lusitana" of Francisco Barbosa Machado dedicated one of its entries to Fernão Ximenes de Aragão, depicting him as a noble and venerable archdeacon, graduate of Canon Law, patron, man of culture and author of spiritual and religious works,[44] including the first two editions of his anti-rabbinical book.[45] According to Barbosa Machado, his description of Ximenes de Aragão as a "fairly pious and learned man" ("*vir satis pius, ac doctus*"), was taken from the *Theatrum Lusitaniae Literarium, sive Bibliotheca Scriptorum omnium Lusitanorum* (1655) of João Soares de Brito, written a few years after Ximenes de Aragão's death on the 29 April 1630.[46]

We may provisionally conclude by suggesting that neither Yerushalmi nor Feitler were completely wrong. On the one hand, the *Catholic Doctrine* did not properly fit an Iberian anti-Converso genre, which tended to be more exclusivistic and pessimistic. On the other hand, it was not so exceptional that it could not be combined with inquisitorial action. It may be possible to assume that the ecclesiastic and university culture to which Ximenes de Aragão belonged, his Catholic zeal, and noble background had influenced his treatment of the Converso problem. Hence, compared to the exacerbated rhetoric of the

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44 These are: *Libro de la restauracion y renovacion del hombre*, Lisboa: Pedro Crasbeeck, 1608 and its second edition: *Restauracion del hombre y consolacion sobrenatural de la Theologia*, Lisboa: Manuel da Silva, 1628; *Incendium animae sive abbreviatum verbum misericordiarum Dei*, Olysippone: Petrum Craesbeeck, 1630; *Praxis da oraçam mental, ou exercicio espiritual, e trato da alma com Deos*, Lisboa: Lourenço Craesbeeck, 1633. For the Christian spiritualism of Fernão Ximenes de Aragão, see Maria Idalina Resina Rodrigues, *Fray Luis de Granada y la literatura de espiritualidad en Portugal (1554–1632)*, Madrid, 1988, pp. 930–937.

45 This will be the official version of his life and work summed up by Diogo Barbosa Machado, (*Bibliotheca Lusitana*, Lisboa 1747, vol. II, pp. 64–65): *"naceo em Lisboa de Pays taõ pios, como illustres, quaes eraõ D., Thomás Ximenes de Aragaõ, e Dona Theresa Vasques de Elvas, filha de Antonio Fernandes de Elvas, Fidalgo da Caza Real, e Thesoureiro da Infanta Doma Maria, filha do Serenissimo Rey D. Manuel, de cuja virtuosa escola sahio educado. Depois de receber o graõ de Licenciado na Faculdade dos Sagrados Canones em a Academia Conimbricense obteve o Arcediagado de Santa Christina em a Sé Primacial de Braga, que possuio pelo largo espeço de 40 annos atè que o renunciou em seu sobrinho Jeronymo* (sic) *Ximenes de Aragaõ. A mayor parte de taõ rendoso Beneficio dispendia pelos pobres; e para que se continuasse depois de morto esta charitativa beneficencia, deixou à Caza da Misericordia de Lisboa hum legado perpetuo."*

46 Idem, p. 763. Cf. Universidade de Coimbra, Ms. 1105: "Theatrum Lusitaniae Literarium (…)", fl. 75v. In spite of a generational gap they both had at least two things in common: studies in Coimbra University, and an academic relationship with the professor of Theology of that institution, Andrés de Almada.

'plebeian' Vicente da Costa Matos, his more pondered Catholic approaches may be seen to respond to his self-identification with the cultured elites of the Iberian Peninsula.[47] That said, let us not rush into conclusions, because compared to other discourses of his time, the way in which Ximenes de Aragão narrated the formation, evolution, and resolution of the 'New Christian' phenomenon in the prologues of the *Catholic Doctrine*, shows that the author had other reasons for writing it.

Para-texts and Contexts

In the prologue of the first edition of the *Catholic Doctrine*, Ximenes de Aragão explained the birth and the evolution of the Converso phenomenon in Portugal. On the one hand, he quoted the most common narratives of the conversion of the Portuguese Jews ordered by King Manuel I in 1497: those of Damião de Góis and Jerónimo Osório. On the other hand, he offered a markedly independent interpretation. In this way he was able to present a less critical judgement of the Portuguese king, compared to those of the celebrated chroniclers. Ximenes de Aragão highlighted the evangelizing zeal of the Monarch and his altruistic motives regarding the spiritual salvation of "his" Jews, leaving aside financial and *realpolitik* considerations.[48]

While Gois and Osório showed signs of compassion for the resistance and martyrdom of the Jews who opposed forced baptism, Ximenes de Aragão highlighted the supposed voluntary character of conversion. In this way, the first generation of "New Christians" was not described by him as those who were hastily "baptized on foot" ("*baptizados em pé*"), or brutally "dragged by the hair to the baptismal font" ("*per capillos abductos ad pillam*"), as usually depicted.[49] Rather, faced with Manuel I's decision to convert them, the vast majority of Jews, he argued, "received the faith with great joy and fervor." Those who opposed

47 Cf. Fernando Bouza, *Hétérographies: formes de l'écrit au siècle d'or espagnol*, Madrid, 2010.

48 Ximenes de Aragão, *Doutrina Católica*, "Prólogo," fols. X–XIII. Cf. Damião de Góis, *Chronica do Felicissimo Rei Dom Emanuel composta per Damiam de Goes diuidida em quatro partes*, Lisboa, 1566–1567, first part, chapters 18, 20–21. Cf. François Soyer, *The Persecution of the Jews and Muslims of Portugal: King Manuel I and the End of Religious Tolerance (1496–7)*, Leiden, 2007.

49 Elias Lipiner, *Os baptizados em pé: estudos acerca da origem e da luta dos cristãos-novos em Portugal*, Lisboa, 1998; Giuseppe Marcocci, "'. . . per capillos adductos ad pillam'". Il dibattito cinquecentesco sulla validità del battesimo forzato degli ebrei in Portogallo (1496–1497)," in: Prosperi, Adriano ed., *Salvezza delle anime, disciplina dei corpi. Un seminario sulla storia del battesimo*. Pisa, 2006, p. 362–381.

baptism were expelled.[50] However, he admitted that exceptions existed, since "some of them, remained stubborn in their blindness, being attached to the soil, so they received baptism feignedly and not with their hearts." But many of Portugal's Jews "adopted the faith sincerely after this conversion [...] without fault nor stain," shining like stars.[51] Furthermore, since Judaism was reduced to the ignorant and lower elements, "it was hoped that soon it would disappear." Having such "optimistic" perspectives, New Christians could have been quickly integrated into the Portuguese society, deserving to be counted as "Old Christians," as was stipulated by the "Old Laws" ("Ordenações Velhas"), for those Jews who were baptized prior to the mass conversion of 1497.[52] However, the author of the *Catholic Doctrine* admitted that this process of assimilation was periodically interrupted by several "general pardons" ("perdões gerais"), given by monarchs and popes to the Conversos in exchange for "services" to the Crown, consisting of significant amounts of money. In his view, "Judaism" flourished again in Portugal, particularly after the last "general pardon" of 1605, granted by king Philip III (Philip II of Portugal) and by pope Clement VIII. This amnesty, awarded after the "men of the Hebrew nation" payed 1,700,000 cruzados, had disasterous results.[53] Instead of promoting a more cohesive and harmonious assimilation of the Converso group into the Old Christian society, it allowed a handful of "Judaizers," now free from inquisitorial jails or back from exile, to act with complete impunity. In this way, a few heretics had

50 To appreciate this narrative manipulation, see Lipiner, *Os baptizados em pé: estudos acerca da origem e da luta dos cristãos-novos em Portugal*, pp. 105–112.

51 Ximenes de Aragão, "Prólogo," *Doutrina Católica*, fol. XI.

52 "*E nas Ordenacões velhas deste Reyno hestà declarado q das familias qie descendião de conuersões mais antigas que a de 497, não fossem chamados com nome de Christãos nuos, senão de Christãos velhos, & que aquelle nome ficasse com os da conuersão de 497*" (idem, fol. XII).

53 For the "perdón general" of 1605, see António Augusto Marques de Almeida, "O Perdão Geral de 1605," *Actas das Primeiras Jornadas de História Moderna*, vol. 2, Lisboa: Centro de História Moderna, 1986, pp. 885–898; Ignacio Pulido Serrano, "Las negociaciones con los cristianos nuevos en tiempos de Felipe III a la luz de algunos documentos inéditos (1598–1607)," *Sefarad*, 66 (2006), pp. 345–375; Claude B. Stuczynski, "New Christian Political Leadership in Times of Crisis: The Pardon Negotiations of 1605," in Moisés Orfali ed., *Bar-Ilan Studies in History, V: Leadership in Times of Crisis*, Ramat Gan, 2007, pp. 45–70; Ana Isabel López Salazar Codes, *Inquisición Portuguesa y Monarquia Hispânica en Tiempos del perdón general de 1605*, Lisboa, 2010. For the general pardons see: Joaquim Méndes dos Remédios, *Os Judeus em Portugal*, Lisboa, 1925; Ignácio Pulido Serrano, "Perdoni generali," in Adriano Prosperi, Vicenzo Lavenia & John Tedeschi eds., *Dizionario Storico dell'Inquisizione*, Pisa, 2010, vol. 3, pp. 1189–1190.

been able to corrupt many of the faithful, including noble families with only tenuous genetic links to conversos and thus almost free of blood stain ("quasi sem raça"). As a result of this, prejudices spread all over the kingdom "against countless innocent pure people (*"gente limpa"*) of deeply Catholic and honest behavior," particularly by the common people, who were resentful and jealous of the New Christians' rapid success.[54]

Unlike Góis and Osório, Ximenes de Aragão did not believe that the "Converso problem" arose from an "original sin" (namely, King Manuel's mass conversion of 1497). Quite the contrary, he argued that both individual and collective baptism of Jews were part of a sustained and successful tradition of integration in the history of the Iberian peninsula. Moreover, if the assimilatory guidelines promoted by Manuel I were scrupulously followed, there would no longer be a "Converso Jewish problem" on Lusitanian soil.[55] Hence the question that immediately follows is: how to explain why so many "good Christians" may had been misled back into the "wrong faith" of their ancestors by a handful "perverse" and often socially debased members of the New Christian community? Ximenes de Aragão explained this by comparing the situation of Portugal with the neighboring kingdom of Castile. How was it that Spain had achieved a "better conversion" (*"mayor conuersão"*), when there were as many polemical and catechetical religious books as in Portugal?" At first glance, his response was similar to that of many Converso advocates of the time. While Spain "always proceeded by rewarding the good and punishing the evil doers," in Portugal, the sincere among the Conversos "by not obtaining the equality they deserved" and "without getting any reward and seeing that they were commonly oppressed by an unjust inequality," easily fell prey to that "Judaic" heresy of which they were often suspected and accused—a phenomenon which Herman P. Salomon has identified as a "self-fulfilling prophecy."[56]

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54 Ximenes de Aragão, "Prólogo," *Doutrina Católica*, fol. XIII.

55 Maria José Pimenta Ferro Tavares, "Expulsion or Integration? The Portuguese Jewish Problem," in Benjamin R. Gampel ed., *Crisis and Creativity in the Sephardic World*, New York, 1997, pp. 95–103.

56 Ximenes de Aragão, "Dedicatória," *Extinção do Judaísmo*, fols. XVII–XIX. Cf. Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi, "Spinoza's Words on the Survival of the Jewish People," *Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities*, 6 (1984), pp. 184–187 (in Hebrew) (idem, *Sefardica: essais sur l'histoire des juifs, des marranes & des nouveaux-chrétiens d'origine hispano-portugaise*, Paris, 1998); Ana Isabel López Salazar Codes, 'Che si riduca al modo di procedere di Castiglia. El debate sobre el procedimiento inquisitorial portugués en tiempos de los Austrias, *Hispania Sacra*, 59 (2007), pp. 243–268; Claude B. Stuczynski, Harmonizing Identities: The Problem of the Integration of the Portuguese Conversos

Ultimately, Ximenes de Aragão explained, the pernicious effects of the "general pardons" was exacerbated by the widespread resistance against New Christian social integration and more particularly, by unfair anti-Converso legislation.

To illustrate the detrimental effects caused by the "general pardon" of 1605, Ximenes de Aragão mentioned the case of an unnamed "evil and perverse master" ("*mao, & peruerso Mestre*"), who had recently been causing havoc in the kingdom.[57] Here he was alluding to the scandal caused by the inquisitorial process against the professor of Canon Law at Coimbra University, António Hómem, and his group of suspected Judaizers. The Hómen affair was discovered in 1619, causing a "great fire" ("*grande incendio*"). This was because the members of the group belonged to learned and well-integrated university and ecclesiastical circles, and many of them were only of partial Jewish ancestry.[58] The inquisitorial condemnation of António Hómem led to a purification of New Christian elements within Coimbra University, and hardened anti-Converso attitudes and feelings in the rest of Portugal.[59] For Costa Mattos, the Hómem affair was tangible proof that "a drop of Jewish blood" was enough to contaminate any Christian. Converso social integration and miscegenation, he inferred, only increased and perpetuated Judaic heresy. Therefore, what was urgently needed was strengthened anti-Converso measures. On the other hand, the above mentioned tract, attributed to the Inquisitor General Martins Mascarenhas, followed a similar argumentative line to that endorsed by Ximenes de Aragão, calling for the expulsion of the "bad ones" among the Conversos in order to fully integrate and promote the "good ones."

In fact, Martins Mascarenhas presided over the auto-de-fe that took place in Lisbon on 5 May 1624, when António Hómem was released to the Inquistion's secular arm to die at the stake.[60] On that occasion, the Dominican friar António de Sousa read an inquisitorial sermon, claiming that: "much of the Jewish nation [i.e. the New Christians] is so deeply corrupted by Judaism that

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in Early Modern Iberian Corporate Polities," *Jewish History*, XXV (2011), pp. 229–257. Herman P. Salomon, *Novos Pontos de Vista sobre a Inquisição em Portugal*, Porto, 1976.

57 Ximenes de Aragão, "Dedicatória," *Extinção do Judaísmo*, fol. XX.

58 Idem, fol. XX. Cf. António José Teixeira, *Antonio Homem e a Inquisição*, Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1895; João Manuel de Almeida Saraiva de Carvalho, *The Fellowship of St. Diogo. New Christians Judaisers in Coimbra in the Early 17th Century*, Leeds, 1990; João Manuel Andrade, *Confraria de S. Diogo: judeus secretos na Coimbra do séc. XVII*, Lisboa, 1999.

59 Joaquim Romero Magalhães, "A Universidade e a Inquisição," in *História da Universidade em Portugal*, Vol. I, tomo 2, Coimbra, 1997, p. 986.

60 Carvalho, *The Fellowship of St. Diogo. New Christians Judaisers in Coimbra in the Early 17th Century*, pp. 142–143.

anything that touches them becomes Jewish." At the same time, he acknowledged that along with "these perverted Jews" there were "mixed together people of better quality."[61] Frei António de Sousa was endorsing an intermediate view between that of Costa, on one hand, and that of Ximenes de Aragao and Martins Mascarenhas, on the other. One of the reasons that motivated him to print his sermon was the presence of New Christian representatives in the Court of Philip IV in Madrid, looking to obtain another "general pardon." After much criticism and objection, these men would gain a very limited and short lived "edict of grace" in 1627, at the time when the Portuguese "businessmen" of Converso origin replaced the Genoese as the principal bankers of the Crown.[62]

We can thus infer that the opposition to a "general pardon" and the effects of the Hómem affair were decisive factors in the publication of the two editions of the *Catholic Doctrine*.[63] Moreover, their para-texts indicate that the author took an active part in the contemporary debates concerning the solution to the "Portuguese Conversos problem."[64] Ximenes de Aragão was hostile

61 *Sermam que o padre mestre Frei Antonio de Sousa da ordem dos prègadores, deputado do S. Officio da Inquisição desta cidade de Lisboa prègou no auto da fè que se celebrou na mesma cidade, domingo cinco de mayo do anno de 1624: presentes os senhores gouernadores deste reyno, & o illustrissimo, & reuerendissimo senhor Bispo dom Fernão Martins Mascarenhas Inquisidor Gèral: offerecido à Virgem nossa Senhora do Rosairo*, Lisboa, 1624, fols. 12 r–v.

62 *"A outra rezam he, parecerme deuido, queando se renouão pretenções injustas contra a Fè, e ministros della, renouar eu a lembrãça que fiz aos que tem obrigação de acudir, pera que se não descuidem com inimigos tão astutos, & cuidadosos"* (idem, fol. 2v). Later, in the last part of his *Aphorismi Inquisitorum in quatuor libri distributi*, Lisboa, 1631, António de Sousa elaborated on his opposition to "general pardons." For the renewal of negotiations between the "procuradores" of the Conversos and the new government led by the Count-Duque of Olivares from 1621. Cf.: Elkan Nathan Adler, "Documents sur les Marranes d'Espagne et du Portugal sous Philippe IV," *Revue des Études Juives*, vol. XLVIII (1904), pp. 1–28; XLIX (1904), pp. 51–73, vol. L (1905), pp. 53–75, 211–237; LI (1906), pp. 97–120, 251–264; João Lúcio de Azevedo, *História dos Cristãos-Novos Portugueses*, Lisboa, 1989, pp. 183–186; James C. Boyajian, *Portuguese Bankers at the Court of Spain, 1625–1650,* New Brunswick, 1983; Juan Ignacio Pulido Serrano, *Injurias a Cristo: religión, política y antijudaísmo en el siglo XVII* (*análisis de las corrientes antijudías durante la Edad Moderna*), op. cit., pp. 85 ss.; idem, *Os Judeus e q Inauisição no Tempo dos Filipes*, Lisboa, 2007, pp. 25–26.

63 According to Ximenes de Aragão it was the general pardon and the dissemination of anti-Converso hatred "*… os dois motiuos que me obrigarão a romper por as dificuldades contrarias de minha pouca saude, e as mais, & pòr o peito à empresa*" (Ximenes de Aragão, "Prólogo," *Doutrina Católica*, fol. XIII).

64 Idem, fol. X.

to the integration of all members of the "nation" through the concession of "general pardons," such as was then being requested by the pro-Converso advocate Martín González de Cellorigo and, later on, by Father António Vieira.[65] Like Costa Mattos, he supported harsher measures against Judaizers. However, while for the former the faithful and potentially good Conversos were an exception to the rule, for the latter, the inverse was true. Moreover, Ximenes de Aragão suggested the implementation of a series of differentiated measures.[66] First, he argued that ten years of sustained Inquisitorial and social repression against the stubborn heretics would suffice to "extinguish Judaism." This period of time would also guarantee the religious purification of the potentially good Conversos, thus paving the way to their gradual integration into the Old Christian common society. Second, he believed that, there was a small group of good Conversos already known for their stern Catholic devotion, their "noble" character, and strong will to be accepted amongst the Old Christian elites. For them, he suggested, integration should be total and immediate. In this sense, Ximenes de Aragão shared a common viewpoint with the contemporary Portuguese Converso merchant, Durante Gomes Solis.[67] However, while Gomes Solis advocated the immediate ennoblement of the wealthiest among the Converso "businessmen," the author of the *Catholic Doctrine* insisted on the existence of a Converso aristocratic sub-group which deserved to be integrated into the Old Christian nobility.

In short, the prologues of the *Catholic Doctrine* seem to endorse an illocutionary force that transcends the simple dichotomy rejection/evangelization. I will suggest that its para-texts explain much of the meaning of the text, by subscribing to the view that the New Christian problem had a solution. The persistency of "Judaism" was not the fatalistic result of any essential or collective factor or trait linked to Jewish ancestry or blood. It could be solved by

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65 Israël Salvator Révah, "Le plaidoyer en faveur des Nouveaux Chrétiens portugais du licencié Martín González de Cellorigo (Madrid 1619)," *Révue des Études Juives*, 122 (1963), pp. 279–398; Stuczynski, "Harmonizing identities: the problem of the integration of the Portuguese Conversos in early modern Iberian corporate polities," op. cit.

66 Costa Mattos meant that the enormous majority of "*Iudeus occultos aborrecem muito aos Hebreos honrados*." This small and select minority gave *"… sempre tam boa conta de si, que pelo proprio caso são odiados dos mais, procurando enobrecerse como podem com grandes despezas propias, comprando jazigos maravilhosos, & e deixando memorias em mosterios grauissimos sem communicação dos peruersos de que escreuo … os quais mui dignamente deuem ser estimados …"* (Costa Mattos, *Breve discurso contra a herética perfidia do judaísmo*, fols. 82 v–83 r).

67 Duarte Gomes Solis, *Discursos sobre los comercios de las dos Indias*, Lisboa, 1943; idem, *Alegación en favor de la Compañía de la India Oriental comercios ultramarinos que de nuevo se instituyó en el reyno de Portugal*, ed. Moses Bensabat Amzalak, Lisboa, 1955.

an implementation of three distinct policies to confront the heterogeneous nature of the Converso group. Now we can better understand what Ximenes de Aragão intended when he explained that he wrote the *Catholic Doctrine* to contravene the stubborn heretic, support the feeble, and confirm the faithful. He was arguing against a tendency to perceive the New Christians as a mostly homogeneous and pernicious group.

Intention and Motivation

If this was, indeed, the main illocutionary force behind the *Catholic Doctrine*, why elaborate it through such an extensive and sophisticated anti-rabbinical text? I have already suggested some clues to answer this question. On the one hand, its prologues linked ideological, programmatic and conjunctural positions which were in accord with a complex but "optimistic" solution to the "Converso problem," such as that endorsed by polemical books with a conversionist aim. On the other hand, the choice of the long established literary genre *contra iudaeos* responded to the socio-cultural background of its author, but with a peculiar argumentative rhetoric that creates a sensation of contextual estrangement.

I would like to add two complementary explanations. Both reside in the fact that Fernão Ximenes de Aragão was a Converso, and that his own condition as a New Christian is a determining factor in understanding the illocutionary force of his *Catholic Doctrine*. Moreover, I believe that Ximenes de Aragão's decision to write this book must have been strongly motivated by his own Converso background. Taking into consideration the fact that his closest readers such as Portugal's Inquisitor General, Martins Marcarenhas, the Coimbra Theologian, Andrés de Almada, and members of the royal and papal courts, knew his ethnic origins, I believe Ximenes de Aragão meant the *Catholic Doctrine* to be read by a select group of people who would respond to it as a converso text.

We know that Fernão belonged to a prestigious New Christian family: the Ximenes de Aragão. The Ximenes, the Veiga, the Rodrigues de Évora, the Lopes de Évora, and the Aragão were all descendants of two fifteenth-century Spanish Converso families who immigrated to Portugal: the Veiga and the Coronel. All of them belonged to a small New Christian group who prospered as a result of the Portuguese colonial expansion in Africa and India, particularly through their involvement in pepper trade. The Ximenes de Aragão were hence part of a prosperous merchant oligarchy from Lisbon, whose members were predominantly Conversos, and which during the first generations after conversion had consolidated through business relations and endogamy. At the same time, these families were part of complex international networks with hubs in important

merchant centres, such as Medina del Campo, Antwerp, Cologne, Florence or Venice. In places like these, they formed consortiums and kinship ties with powerful merchants, bankers and non-Converso nobles.[68] In Florence, the Ximenes de Aragão clan managed to enter the elite circles of the city, obtaining an important role in the military order of Saint Stephen, amongst the local aristocracy (e.g. the Medici), and within the high ranks of the clergy.[69] As a result of this, on 5 August 1588, Pope Sixtus V granted a Papal Brief to one of Fernão Ximenes de Aragão's uncles (a merchant of the same name, established in Florence through the auspices of the Great Duke of Tuscany), allowing him and his family to occupy secular and ecclesiastical positions reserved to Old Christians, and to fully enjoy the privileges associated with such roles.[70]

During the second half of the XVI century, an important part of these wealthy Portuguese Converso families, including the Ximenes de Aragão, became increasingly integrated into the local elites. Without completely abandoning international trade, members and branches of these families decided to undertake professions more akin to their social aspirations, such as assisting the Crown (e.g. to finance the Indian route or the "Carreira da Índia"),

68 José Gentil da Silva, *Stratégie des Affaires à Lisbonne entre 1595 et 1607. Lettres Marchandes des Rodrigues d'Évora et Veiga*, Paris, 1956; Jeremy D. Bangs, "Ferdinande Ximenes, Simon Rodrigues, and Gratia Rodrigues, residents in Leiden in 1584," *Studia Rosenthaliana*, vol. XVII (1983), pp. 1–14; Hermann Kellenbenz, "I Mendes, I Rodrigues d'Évora e I Ximenes," in Gaetano Cozzi ed., *Gli Ebrei e Venezia: secoli XIV–XVIII*, Venezia: Edizioni Comunita, 1987, pp. 143–161; James C. Boyajian, *Portuguese Trade in Asia under the Habsburgs, 1580–1640*, Baltimore/London, 1993; António José Saraiva, *The Marrano Factory: The Portuguese Inquisition and its New Christians, 1536–1765, translated, revised and augmented by H.P. Salomon and I.S.D. Sassoon*, Leiden, 2001; pp. 193–195; Florbela Veiga Frade, *As Relações Económicas e Sociais das Comunidades Sefarditas Portuguesas. O Trato e a Família* (*1532–1632*), Lisboa, 2007, pp. 270–294; Federica Ruspio, *La Nazione Portoghese: Ebrei Ponentini e Nuovi Cristiani a Venezia*, Torino, 2007, p. 285; João de Figueiroa-Rego, "Ximenes, Família," in: Lúcia Liba Mucznick, José Alberto Rodrigues da Silva Tavim, Esther Mucznik & Elvira de Azevedo Mea eds., *Diccionário do Judaísmo Português*, Lisboa, 2009, pp. 547–548. Several members of the Ximenes de Aragão family are identified in A.A. Marques de Almeida ed., *Diccionário Histórico dos Sefarditas Portugueses*, Lisboa: Campo da Comunicação, 2009, pp. 735–741.

69 Cf. Marcella Aglietti, *"Nobili e cavalieri di Santo Stefano tra Toscana e Spagna a metà del XVIII secolo," Quaderni Stefaniani*, XX (2001), pp. 105–173; idem, "Caballería y nobleza entre Toscana y España: Los procesos de admisión en la Orden Militar de Santo Stefano," in Manuel Rivero Rodríguez ed., *Nobleza hispana, nobleza cristiana: la Orden de San Juan*, Madrid, 2009, Vol. 2, pp. 1179–1216.

70 Figueiroa-Rego, "Ximenes, Família," op. cit.

investing in land, or opting for University or ecclesiastical careers. Other assimilatory tactics included the purchase of titles of nobility, entry into the exclusive military orders, and strengthening intermarriage bonds with high ranking families.[71] The Ximenes de Aragão were a successful example of these endeavors, depicted in genealogies as illustrious scions of an aristocratic Old Christian Spanish family who settled in Portugal after the Battle of Toro in 1476.[72]

During the time which concerns us, however, it became much more difficult to circumvent the effects of Jewish ancestry. For this reason, individual or family prestige and influence were the only means to overcome the social barriers imposed by the statutes of "purity of blood." While it is true that in Portugal these intensified and became more widespread at the end of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, it was possible to bypass them through exceptional dispensations and titles granted by the monarchy and the papacy. The abovementioned Papal Brief granted to the Ximenes de Aragão family in 1588 is a good example of the complexity of such dispensations, since under pressure from King Philip II (Philip I of Portugal), the same pope previously forbade Portuguese New Christians to obtain ecclesiastical benefices.[73] Furthermore, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, Pope Clement III extended these prohibitions to prebends, canonries and other Church positions up to the seventh degree. This became enforced on 18 January 1612 by the decree "Beati Petri" of Pope Paul V. In Portugal, these anti-Converso measures had the backing of Cristovão de Moura, Viceroy of Portugal until his death in 1613, and of Mendo da Mota, a prominent member of the Council of Portugal in Madrid during Ximenez de Aragão's life.[74] It is likely that the Hómem affair accelerated the systematic application of such legislation, both in the secular and in the ecclesiastical spheres. At the same time, in the

71 James C. Boyajian, "The New Christians Reconsidered: Evidence from Lisbon's Portuguese Bankers, 1497–1647," *Studia Rosenthaliana*, XIII (1979), pp. 129–156; Fernanda Olival, "A Família de Heitor Mendes de Brito: um Percurso Ascendente," in Maria José Ferro Tavares ed., *Poder e Sociedade. Actas das Jornadas Interdisciplinares*, vol. 2, Lisboa, 1998, pp. 111–129; idem, "Para um estudo da nobilitação no Antigo Regime: os cristãos-novos na Ordem de Cristo (1581–1621)," in *Actas do I Encontro sobre Ordens Militares*, Palmela, 1991, pp. 233–244; Idem, *As Ordens Militares e o Estado Moderno: honra, mercê e venalidade em Portugal* (1641–1789), Lisboa, 2001.

72 E.g. Cristóvão Alão de Morais, *Pedatura Lusitana: nobiliário de famílias de Portugal*, Porto, 1943–1948, Tome V, vol. 1, p. 200.

73 Fortunato de Almeida, *História da Igreja em Portugal*, Porto, 1968, vol. III, pp. 59, 354, n. 4.

74 Pulido Serrano, *Os Judeus e a Inquisição no Tempo dos Filipes*, pp. 95–98.

1620s representatives of the Holy See in Portugal recalled that "when Sixtus V excluded the New Christians of that kingdom from the Orders and ecclesiastical benefices, he reserved the right to make dispensations."[75]

Based on the above, we may understand why most of those prosperous Converso families, including the Ximenes de Aragão, did not show signs of solidarity with other members of the "nation." It is true that years before the "general pardon" of 1605, some members of that merchant oligarchy still took part in this type of collective negotiation. But most of them quickly understood that group negotiation hindered their own social ambitions. Therefore, they asked to be exonerated from the "general pardons." Some of them even received the support of the Inquisitor General Martins Mascarenhas, who formally attested the names of prosperous New Christian families who did not support any "general pardon" because they did not consider themselves anymore as members of the "*nação*."[76] From this perspective we also understand the firm opposition of Fernão Ximenes de Aragão to the concession of "general pardons." We should also point out that the affinity which he had with Fernão Martins Marcarenhas went beyond strictly personal reasons. As we have seen, it was part of an ideological alliance, underwritten by interests established between members of Converso oligarchy and the Inquisitor General.[77]

We may therefore assume that all those who were familiar with the author's origins would have been able to read the para-texts of the *Catholic Doctrine* as a sort of manifesto written on behalf of that small group of prosperous New Christians. With respect to the anti-rabbinic nature of the text, it was probably seen as *ipso facto* proof that it was possible to find Conversos whose irreproachable Catholic faith and intransigence towards Judaism justified their unquestionable integration.

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75 "*Quando Sisto V escluse dagl'ordini, e da benefizii Ecclesistici i Cristiani nuovi di quel Regno, riservò à se la facoltà di potervi dispensare*" (Almeida, *História da Igreja em Portugal*, pp. 59–60).

76 Stuczynski, "New Christian Political Leadership in Times of Crisis: The Pardon Negotiations of 1605," op. cit.; Arquivos Nacionais Torre do Tombo, Conselho Geral do Santo Ofício, livro. 314, fols. 51r–54v; Biblioteca da Ajuda, 51-III-6, n. 18; British Library (=BL), Egerton, ms. 344, fols. 1 r–15 r.

77 Martins Mascarenhas will be accused of transgressing "purity of blood" laws through his aliance with Conversos (Julio Caro Baroja, *Los judios en la España Moderna y Contemporanea*, Madrid: Arión, 1962, vol. 3, pp. 311–315; Paiva, "Mascarenhas, Fernão Martins," pp. 1005–1006).

There is also the possibility that in writing and re-editing his anti-rabbinal book, Fernão was attempting to guarantee the nomination of one of his nephews as his successor as archdeacon.[78] This claim is supported by documents and letters preserved in the British Library and in the National Historical Archive in Madrid related to a memorandum (*memorial*) addressed by Manuel Ximenes de Aragão to King Philip IV (Philip III). This document requested the concession of the archdeaconry of Santa Cristina at the cathedral of Braga, which his uncle Fernão had the intention of bequeathing to him.[79] The request was made in response to the papal bulls by Clement VIII and Paul V, already mentioned, which prohibited Conversos from occupying ecclesiastical positions.[80] At the same time, this request was part of a more ambitious project: to recognize the Ximenes de Aragão's family as noble Old Christians.

Three reasons lead me to believe that there was a relationship between Fernão's anti-rabbinc text and his nephew Manuel's memorandum: their chronology, contents, and the reactions they generated at Court. Manuel's memorandum was written before 24 January 1625, shortly after the first edition of the *Catholic Doctrine* was published.[81] At the same time, the deliberations at Court around that memorandum were conducted by a commission or *junta* from 13 August to 4 September 1625, coinciding with the preparation of the second edition of the book.[82] Likewise, the contents of the memorandum correspond with what was argued in the prologues of the *Catholic Doctrine*, namely, the

78 Manuel Ximenes de Aragão was nephew of Fernão from his mother's side, and cousin from his father's side (Morais, *Pedatura Lusitana: nobiliário de famílias de Portugal*, pp. 202, 205).

79 *"Manuel Ximenes de Aragon, vecino de la ciudad de Lisboa, dise q*[*ue*]*. su tio Fernando Ximenes, hermano de su madre Dona Maria Ximenes, renuncia en su persona, vn Arcedianato que tiene, del titulo de Santa Cristina, en la Iglesia mayor de la ciudad de Braga, Reyno de Portugal"* (BL, Egerton 488, fol. 110 r.ss. and referred by Pulido Serrano, *Os Judeus e a Inquisição no Tempo dos Filipes*, p. 99). At the end of 1617, Philip III was already requesting from the Portuguese Inquisition information about the Ximenes family, and whether some of its members had been condemned by the Holy Office. For evidence of previous negotiations between the monarchy and said family, see Isaías da Rosa Pereira, *A Inquisição em Portugal. Séculos XVI–XVII, Período Filipino*, Lisboa, 1993, pp. 88–89)

80 "*. . . prohibicion de los buletos Appostolicos de Clemente 8o, y Paulo Vo. passados a pedimiento de los señores Reyes de aquella Corona*."

81 Letter written during the *Junta* that took place in the house of the President of Castille, on 15 January 1625 (BL, Egerton, mss. 344, fol. 109 r). The Third and last licence for the imprint of the *Doutrina Católica* was given by Damião Veiga, Lisbon, 7 December 1624.

82 BL, Egerton, mss. 344, fol. 108 r–v and based on the licence given by Fr. Thomas de S. Domingo to the "Extinção do Judaísmo," Lisbon, 6 September 1626.

disengagement of the Ximenes de Aragão family with the general pardon of 1605,[83] and the belief that nobility depended on family prestige, exogamy, and continuous religious commitment.[84] To prove this, Manuel's memorandum listed names of relatives who had shown military courage defending Catholicism, entered the clergy, or commissioned good works.[85] It also highlighted the high esteem with which they were regarded by the aristocracy

83 *"… presentando en la Inquisicion de Portugal protestas contra el perdon general, q*[*ue*] *entonces se concedió a la gente de la nación de aquel reyno* (*de q*[*ue*] *constó por certificassiones del Inquisidor general*) *en q declararon, que por ningún caso querian participar del; mas estar en todo por los estatutos del sto. Officio; V Mgd. Les hiço merced, por su cedula Real fecha en el año de 606, que está en el officio del secretario Francisco de Lucena, de eximir de la contribucion, o derrama, que entonces se hiço por la dicha gente, a todos los de su familia: y no solo fue la excepcion, por entonces, sino para sienpre, con clausulas tan firmes, y tan honrradas, que oi dia gosan dellas. y ultra desto, en la cedula que V. Magd. passó el año de 612, por la qual Vedó a los de la dicha nacion que no se pudiesen enbarcarsse par alas partes ultramarinas, se declaró, q no se entendiesse con los que fueron essentos de las contribuciones passadas; separandolos en todo, y por todo de la dicha gente, y agregandolos, a los mas antiguos y naturales del Reyno, con quien deuen ser contados"* (idem., fol. 110).

84 *"ser hijo legitimo de Andres Ximenes fidalguo de la casa Real, y cauallero de la Orden de Cristo; y nieto por linea paterna y materna, de Duarte Ximenes, y de tan calificadsa descendencia, que no se hallará contra ella, la menor falta, sino el mayor applauso … quando en su persona concurren tantas calidades de linpieça, proceder, seruicios, y las mas referidas"* (idem., fol. 110 r).

85 *"Porq. todos los desta familia procedieron sienpre, con grande exenplo y satifacion, en las materias de la religion Catholica, haciendo por ella, auentaiados seruicios, y ocupando los lugares, y puestos de mayor confiança, y más honrrados; que fue Fernando Ximenes hermano de Andres Ximenes su padre cauallero de la orden de S. Esteuan, que en los estados de Alemania y Flandes, hiço cosas insignes, en defense de la fé y anparo de los Catholicos de aquellas partes: y por su muerte dexó vinculados, a la capilla de Sta. Cathalina de Sena /110v/ en el Conbento de S. Dominguo de la ciudad de Lisboa, dos mil ducados de iuro, oara que se destribuya en cada un año, en obras pias, e otras muchas cantidades de hacienda, repartidas por los lugares santos de aquellos paises. Antonio Fernandes Ximenes su tio, hermano de su madre, ha fabricado desde sus cimientos, el seminario de los Irlandeses en la ciudad de Lisboa, que es una obra de grandissimo seruicio de Dios, y lustro de la religion Catholica. El padre Manuel Ximenes de la Compañia de Jesus, q*[*ue*]*. murió en Florencia, hauiendo seruido de consultor, y deputado del sto. Officio muchos annos. Mons. Tomas Ximenes, primo hermano suyo, que es oy Obispo de Fiesoli; en el estado de Florencia, y Seuastian Ximenes, su tio, hermano de su madre, q viue en el mismo estado, cauallero del orden de S. Esteuan, casado con Cathalina de Medicis, sobrina del Cardenal Alexandro, que después fue papa Leon undecimo, parienta cercana del gran Duque, y hermana del enbaxador de aquel estado, q*[*ue*] *esta en esta Corte"* (fols. 110 r–v).

in Florence, and by the Holy See.[86] The titles of nobility that some of them received from Philip III (Philip II), were also taken as proof of the loyal services that the family offered to the Crown.[87] Furthermore, Manuel mentioned the 1588 Papal Brief in favor of his family,[88] recalled the fact that no objections were presented when his uncle received the archdeaconry,[89] and noted other examples of New Christians who had been exceptionally allowed to occupy positions of importance in the Church and in the secular domain.

While Manuel's memorandum referred vaguely to a famous case in the past of a Converso attaining important social standing in the *junta* presided over by the King's confessor, Fray Antonio de Sotomayor, the delegates referred explicitly to the Esteves family, whose illustrious ancestor, the Converso jurist Cristovão Esteves, had been granted the condition of noble Old Christian by the King D. João III.[90] Fernanda Olival has shown that the reference to the

86 *"…y todas las personas desta familia q*[*ue*]*. biuen el Reino de Portugal, y Castilla, estan aliadas por casamientos con las casas màs illustres; guardando en este particular, tal obseruancia, que de más de quarenta años, no hicieron casamiento, con persona, menos q*[*ue*]*. de toda satisfazion; y en los Mayorasgos que instituyenm ay clausula espresso, que los pierda el que casare con persona de mala raça: como todo mas largamente consta"* (fol. 110 v).

87 *"Por que S. Md. que está en Gloria, en consideracion de los servicios de Andres Ximenes, su padre, de Jeronymo Duarte Ximenes, y de Thomas Ximenes, sus tios, les hiço merced en el año de 99 de hacerlos fidalgos de su casa y a todos sus hijos, dando iuntamente, el habito de Xpo. al dicho Andres Ximenes su padre: la qual merced, no suele hacerssse, sinó a personas en q*[*ue*] *concurren, calidad, meritos, y servicios semejantes a los q. tiene referidos"* (fol. 110 r)

88 "*Por todo lo qua les manifiesto, que las prohibiciones de Clemente 8o. y de Paolo Vo. ni comprehendan al dicho manuel ximenes, por estar habil y idoneo, por el Breue de Sixto Vo. que presenta para todas las dignidades ecclesiasticas y seglares: y por las cedulas reales, eximido en todo, y por todo del numero de la gente de la nación"* (fol. 110 v).

89 *"*[*D*]*eue U. Md. aduertir, que Fernando ximenes su Tio, propietario del dicho arcedianato, entró en el sin contradiction, en tienpo q. ya estauan promulgadas la prohibiciones del Papa sixto Vo.: y que el dicho beneficio, es sinple, sin residencia, en la Iglesia mayor"* (idem, fol. 111 r).

90 *"Oy me halle en junta en casa del Presidente de Castilla sobre la pretension q*[*ue*] *tiene M*[*anu*]*el Ximenes decendiente de Conversos de q*[*ue*] *su Mag*[*esta*]*d. haga merçed de suplir este deffecto en su familia, como lo hizo el Rey Don Juan de Portugal con la de los Estevens, y alli pergunto el snor. Obispo Jnqor. Gal. como proçedian en materias de fee los decendientes de los Esteuens; y como el deffecto q d'alguno d'ellos tengo sabido es como Jnqor. Me paresio q no deuia descubrirlo delante de personas seglares q assistian a la junta; y por q. el Sor. Jnqor. Gral. Fundo su uotto en la buena informaçion q se le dio del proçeimiento de los deendientes de los dichos esteuens, me paresio q. estaba obligado a dizir por este papel a V.exa. q no hay satisfaction en el Sto. Offo. En materias de fee de uno q es decendiente de los dichos esteuens pa. q U.exa. lo tenga entendido quando se uiese esta consulta; y suplico a V.exa. se sirua de q*[*ue*] *este papel lo no passé de las manos de V.exa. pues solo a su Magd. y a V.exa. puedo*

Esteves case was not coincidental, since during the early modern period it was often quoted as a legal precedent when an individual or family of total or partial Converso ancestry wished to be admitted into the Old Christian elites despite the restrictions imposed by "purity of blood" criteria.[91] Manuel's memorandum, however, explicitly mentioned the contemporary case of Francisco Vaz (Velasco) de Gouveia, a well-known professor of Canon Law at Coimbra University, who had recently been named archdeacon of Vilanova da Cerveira, also within the cathedral of Braga see.[92] We know that during his stay at the University of Coimbra, Manuel had met the said professor of Law.[93] When he wrote his memorandum, however, he could not have foreseen that shortly afterwards, on 27 February 1626, Francisco Vaz de Gouveia would be arrested by the Inquisition of Coimbra. He was accused of being part of the Hómen group, and more particularly of supporting the renovation of a "general pardon" in favor of the "men of the nation." Despite being penanced at an auto-de-fe, on August 17 1631, Vaz de Gouveia was afterwards nominated to the High Court of Appeals by King João, in 1650.[94]

In many respects, the profile of Dr. Vaz Gouveia coincided with that of Fernão Ximenes de Aragão: both were archdeacons in Braga, studied or taught at Coimbra University, belonged to prestigious Converso families (jurists, and international merchants), and aimed to show a longstanding fidelity to Catholicism.[95] Both received the support of the Crown and the Inquisitor General.[96]

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reuelar lo q es secreto del Sto. Offo. q. de Dios a V.exa. por mui feliçes annos como esta monarchia lo ha menester" (fol. 109 r).

91 Fernanda Olival, "Juristas e mercadores à conquista das honras: quatro processos de nobilitação quinhentistas," *Revista de História Económica e Social*, série 2, 4 (2002), pp. 7–53.

92 *"…y mui pocos meses ha, hico V. Md. la misma merced a Francisco Vas de gouea cathedratico en la Vniversidad de Coinbra, para la renunciacion del Arcedianato de Vilanova de cerveira, en la misma Iglesia mayor de Braga Con los quales exenplos, fuera de otros mas antiguos de dignidades"* (BL, Egerton, mss. 344, fol. 111 r).

93 Braga, *História da Universidade de Coimbra nas suas relações com a instrucção pública portugueza*, p. 634.

94 Saraiva, *The Marrano Factory*, p. 121.

95 It was part of the defense argument adopted by Vaz Gouveia against his accusers.

96 Against the verdict of the Coimbra Inquisition, a Royal Decree from 12 April 1625 named Vaz de Gouveia succesor of António Hómen in Canonic Law. The Crown would continued to suport him during his inquisitorial trial. At the same time, it was Martins Mascarenhas who supported Vaz de Gouveia's candidacy for the archdeaconry of Vila Nova da Cerveira, writing letters to the pope Urban VIII on 1 May and 22 September 1623. Cf. Theophilo Braga, *História da Universidade de Coimbra nas suas relações com a instrucção pública portugueza*, Lisboa, 1895, vol. II, p. 637; António Baião, *Episódios dramáticos da Inquisição*

During the meetings convened at the *junta* to deal with Manuel's memorandum, it is possible to follow the motives of the support which he received from the King's confessor, Fray Antonio de Sotomayor:

> . . . because those of the nation of Portugal who behave as good Christians without losing the path of religion, must be encouraged and favored, so that through their example others may join them, because what most demoralizes them is to be oppressed in that Kingdom, being unworthy of honors. Therefore, seeing and considering so many reasons, documents and testimonies showing that those of this family, and particularly the petitioner, are true Christians, not wanting to lose all that they have properly gained, they deserve to be favored; because otherwise, it could be a cause of turning backwards, if they see that after having obtained so many things with their good behavior are still treated in the same manner as those whose guilt and stubbornness leave them with no hope for the future.[97]

At the same time, Fray Sotomayor appeased those who did not agree with his reasoning, denouncing the dangerous legal implications of countenancing the "purity of blood" criteria promoted by the Monarchy. Like the abovementioned representatives of the Pope in Lisbon,[98] the confessor of the King and Inquisitor General of Spain invoked the King's right to make exceptions to his own rules: ". . . . Your Majesty's support does not go against having requested and obtained a Papal Brief for the opposite for the most part of the nation."[99] As we have seen, these directives completely corresponded to what Fernão wrote in the prologues of his *Catholic Doctrine*.

Portuguesa, Lisboa Seara Nova, 1936, vol. I, pp. 167–200; Azevedo, *História dos Cristãos-Novos Portugueses*, p. 169; Carvalho, *The Fellowship of St. Diogo. New Christians Judaisers in Coimbra in the Early 17th Century*, pp. 149, 293, n. 24).

97 *"porque a los de la naçion de Portugal que van proçediendo como Buenos christianos sin interrumpirse en las cosas de la religion. se debe alentar y faboreçer, para q*[*ue*] *con este exemplo se aunen otros porque lo que mas los desmaya es, el estar tan abatidos en aquel Reyno, y incapaçes de todas las honrras del. y entendiendose como por tantas causas, titulos, y testimonios, se puede entender q*[*ue*] *son Verdaderos Christianos, los de esta familia, y en especial el supplicante, y q*[*ue*] *no querran borrar lo mucho que tienen Ganado; mereçe ser faboreçido, porq*[*ue*] *lo contrario seria causa de voluer atras, si viessen que despues de haber adquirido tanto con su buen proçeder, se tiene con ellos el mismo q*[*ue*] *con los que por sus culpas y obstinaçion le mereçen, quedando sin esperança para en lo de adelante."*

98 See above, n. 77.

99 "*. . . el ayudar V*[*uestra*] *Mag*[*estad*] *no contradiçe al haber pedido y obtenido breue para lo contrario en lo general de los de la nación*" (BL, Egerton, mss. 344, fols. 108 r–v).

Finally, I will mention the fact that those who discussed Manuel's memorandum in the *junta* also referred to the recent publication of his uncle Fernão's anti-rabbinical text. This fact appears as one of the most important arguments in favor of Manuel's request:

> And having seen and talked about the contents that concerns it, the President [of the Council of Castile], and the Inquisitor General [of Spain, Fray Sotomayor], stated that in this *Junta* it has been presupposed that if there is any family worthy of equity and mercy, it is precisely the Ximenes, because from a long time ago to this date there is no evidence that they prevaricated or apostatized in matters of faith; rather, one of the said family has recently produced a book addressed to the Inquisitor General of that kingdom [of Portugal, Martins Mascarenhas], rebuking Judaism and confirming the truth of our Holy Catholic Faith.[100]

A possible relationship of "cause and effect" between Fernão's *Catholic Doctrine* and Manuel's memorandum is based on this evidence. If proven, this anti-rabbinic text would now acquire an unexpected different utterance, which questions the methodology suggested by Skinner of interpreting texts in historical contexts. For, Fernão Ximenes de Aragão's *Catholic Doctrine* is one of those discursive acts that were conceived for diverse audiences, and therefore expected different interpretations of its plural meanings. It is true that for an external reader of the *Catholic Doctrine*, its relatively evangelical and 'Italian' character would reveal its main illocutionary force: to avoid the racialization and homogenization of the Conversos as an unconvertible dangerous group. However, those few who knew Ximenes de Aragão's ethnic origins and socio-economic profile would rather interpret the *Catholic Doctrine* as a sort of manifesto on behalf of the author's Converso sub-group. But only those who at Court dealt with Manuel's memorandum would understand that this anti-rabbinic text was part of a hidden effort to transform the Ximenes de Aragão family into *de iure* illustrious Old Christians, which included archdeacons at the prestigious cathedral of Braga.

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100 *"Y habiendose visto e platicado lo q*[*ue*] *se refiere en el, El Presid*[*en*]*te, y el Inquisidor general, dicen, que en esta Junta se ha presupuesto, que si alguna familia es Digna de que se vsse con ellas de equidad y graçia, es esta de los ximenez, porque no se sabe de muchos tiempos a esta parte que ayan prebaricado ni apostatado en las materias de la fe, antes, que vno de la mesma familia ha poco tiempo que hiço vn libro dirigido al Inquisor g*[*e*]*n*[*e*]*r*[*a*]*l de aquel Reyno, en reprobacion del Judaysmo, y en comprobacion de la Verdad de n*[*uest*]*ra. S*[*an*]*ta. fe Catholica"* (fol. 108 r).

CHAPTER 5

Injurious Lexicons: Inquisitorial Testimonies regarding New Christians in Macau, Manila and Nagasaki in the Late Sixteenth Century

Miguel Rodrigues Lourenço

Introduction

This essay will focus on the production of inquisitorial testimonies regarding New Christians in Macau, Manila and Nagasaki between 1592 and 1601. I intend to consider the accusation as a local product, the construction and materialization of a specific social context that can be understood not only through the personal relations between the deponents and the suspects, but also through the nature of the relations involving the author of the deposition and the society in which he testifies. Our understanding is that the inquisitorial testimony is the result of a declaration that, although individual, carries in itself shared opinions, feelings, prejudices and common-places which usually converge in collective behaviors of exclusion or protection. The inquisitorial testimony displays levels of discursive homogeneity that indicates a product that is both individual and collective.[1] To think of the testimony as a collective discourse forces us to measure the extent to which the Inquisition was rooted in

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1 Jean-Pierre Dedieu had already posited that the accusation demanded a deep knowledge of the social background from whence it proceeded, and thus should be regarded as a collectice action. Cf. "De la inquisición y su inserción social. Nuevas directrices en la historiografía inquisitorial," 2005, n/numbered, available at *http://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-00004676* on 22 February 2014.

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the daily life and in the mental framework of these societies and its influence on social psychology and behavioral practices.

Macau, Manila and Nagasaki: Modalities of Inquisitorial Representation

Due to its function as a disciplinary and punitive institution, the Holy Office is frequently understood in light of an unidirectional movement emanating from a center (the Inquisitor General, the seat of district, the Board of each tribunal) towards its periphery (a city, a fortress, a village, society in general).[2] Unaware or insensitive to specificities inside the periphery, scholars tend to level the several territories that comprise the district in a horizontal framework, as if nothing affected the institutional bonds established by the center, and that every collectivity could be indistinctively comprehended in its relation with the Inquisition. In this essay we sustain that the different degrees of these societies' institutionalization constitute an objective and qualitative referent of distinction between peripheries. The modalities for inquisitorial representation produce different effects on the psychology of the communities, according to their levels of sophistication and complexity. On the one hand, it is paramount to understand how this variable can influence the modalities of relationship between peripheries (Macau, Manila and Nagasaki) and their respective institutional centers (the tribunals of Goa and Mexico); on the other hand, and as a consequence, whether specific institutional choices for articulating center and periphery weigh on collective behaviors before inquisitorial authority, namely in defining socio-religious alterity as is the case in testimonies.

The relative coeval emergence of Macau, Manila and Nagasaki in the context of Iberian expansion should not divert us from their disparate social and institutional realities. Macau, Manila and Nagasaki were the result of collective dynamics with different degrees of compromise with native populations, as well as with supra-territorial political or governmental entities, be they Asian or European. The depth and complexity of the bonds maintained with the

2 For an understanding of the dynamic nature of the connections between center and periphery, read Edward Shils, *Centro e Periferia*, Lisbon, 1992 [1974], especially pp. 83–94 and 99–105. On the unequal levels of peripheries and its relations to its institutional center in the Goa Inquisition's district, see Miguel Rodrigues Lourenço, *O Comissariado do Santo Ofício em Macau* (*c. 1582–c. 1644*). *A Cidade do Nome de Deus na China e a articulação da periferia no distrito da Inquisição de Goa*. Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa (M.A. thesis), Lisbon, 2007, p. 153 and ss.

Portuguese or Castilian Crowns depended on the typology of the settlement and the specific social practices developed there, all of which lead to different models of social organization. The specificity of each of these settlements affected the options of institutional representation followed by the Goa and Mexico's tribunals in these territories.

Macau was the never-ending product of the private initiative of Portuguese, Luso-Asians and Chinese merchants that, at the fringes of the *Estado da Índia* and outside the framework of the Chinese tributary embassies, allowed for an informal settlement tolerated by Guangdong's provincial authorities in the mid-1550s. The Portuguese presence at Macau was continuously negotiated and renovated, depending on the commercial success and on the mutual benefits of the enterprise to Chinese authorities and the Luso-Asian consortium that operated between China and Japan. A cradle of informal initiatives and strategies conducted irrespective of the *Estado da Índia*'s main interests or directives, Macau was a place where competitive interests of conflictive expression regularly erupted. During the sixteenth century its regulation was mostly due to the informal arbitration of the Society of Jesus, functioning as mediator of social tensions and in the communication with the Ming mandarinate.[3] It was, therefore, a collective reality in permanent revision, which, due to its informal and provisional nature,[4] was a community with a very low degree and a very slow rhythm of institutionalization, where sovereignty was shared by Chinese and Portuguese authorities in an unequal fashion.[5] The integration of Macau into the Portuguese Crown's system of government experienced a decisive thrust with the incorporation of the Kingdom of Portugal into the Spanish Crown. The necessity to stand against the growing importance of Manila as the representative of Spanish aspirations in the region, led the mercantile elite of Macau to organize itself as a collective, self-representative organism (the *Câmara*) around 1583.[6] This moment was seen in both Goa and Madrid as an opportunity to increase Macau's institutionalization, up until now limited to the presence of an *ouvidor* (royal judge, since

3 Jorge Manuel dos Santos Alves, "O princípio do estabelecimento dos portugueses em Macau (1555–1565)," *Um porto entre dois Impérios. Estudos sobre Macau e as relações luso-chinesas*, [Macau], Instituto Português do Oriente, 1999, pp. 74–75; Elsa Penalva, *As Lutas pelo Poder em Macau* (*c. 1590–c. 1660*). Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa (PhD dissertation), vol. I, Lisbon, 2005, p. 48 and what follows; Luís Filipe Barreto, *Macau: Poder e Saber—Séculos XVI e XVII*, Lisbon, 2006, pp. 111–112, 123 and 136–137.

4 Ibid., p. 118.

5 Ibid., p. 146.

6 Ibid., pp. 148–152.

circa 1580), who had shared jurisdiction with the captain-major of the Japan voyage (*capitão-mor da viagem do Japão*) during his period in the territory. In 1587, the latter saw his prerogatives diminished in matters of justice, from then on reserved to the *ouvidor*, who received his own *regimento*/statute.[7] These measures were contemporary to the confirmation of the *Câmara*'s Senate, to the concession of the status of city to Macau by the viceroy, as well as to the bequest of the *foral* or charter (1586).[8] As for the ecclesiastical organization, Macau had become the seat of the bishopric of China in 1576, although the first bishop did not arrive until 1581.[9]

Whereas it took three decades of Portuguese settlement before Macau was formally acknowledged as a city, Manila gained this status only one month after peace arrangements were concluded with the local Islamic elites, in 1571.[10] Unlike Macau, Manila was the formal seat of the *gobierno de Filipinas*, with its own *gobernador y capitán general*, responsible for coordinating military affairs in the archipelago. The foundation of the city was followed by the constitution of the *cabildo* according to the contemporary legislation of the Indies of Castile[11]; in 1583, the Crown created a tribunal of the *Audiencia* for the Philippines, only to suppress it in 1589 and to further restore it in 1595.[12] Aside

7 This measure is a consequence of the reforms on the judicial structures of the *Estado da Índia* conducted by the Crown in 1586, determining that all *ouvidores* should be graduated scholars (*letrados*) from the kingdom and duly examined by the *Desembargo do Paço*. Charles Ralph Boxer, *O Grande Navio de Amacau*, [s. l.], Fundação Oriente and Museu e Centro de Estudos Marítimos de Macau, 1989 [1960], p. 44; Luís Filipe Barreto, op. cit., pp. 147–148; Francisco Bethencourt, "O Estado da Índia," *História da Expansão Portuguesa*. Direcção de Francisco Bethencourt and Kirti Chaudhuri, vol. 2, [s. l.], Círculo de Leitores, imp. 1998, p. 305.

8 Letter of D. Duarte de Meneses, viceroy of India, to Philip II, November 23rd 1587, in Goa. AGS, *Secretarías Provinciales*, 1551, fls. 72v–73.

9 Benjamim Videira Pires, SJ, "O procurador de D. Leonardo de Sá," *Religião e Pátria*, Year I, n.º 10, Macau, Tipografia da Missao do Padroado, May 31st 1964, p. 18; Monsenhor Manuel Teixeira, *Macau e a sua Diocese*, vol. VII, Macau, Tipografia da Missão de Macau, 1967, pp. 276–277.

10 John Villiers, "Portuguese Malacca and Spanish Manila: Two Concepts of Empire," in Roderick Ptak ed., *Portuguese Asia: Aspects in History and Economic History* (*Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*), Stuttgart, 1987, p. 49.

11 Luis Merino, OSA, *Estudios sobre el Municipio de Manila. El Cabildo Secular: Aspectos fundacionales y administrativos*, vol. I, Manila, 1983, pp. 123–124.

12 Charles Henry Cunningham, *The Audiencia in the Spanish Colonies as illustrated by the Audiencia of Manila* (*1583–1800*), Berkeley, 1919, p. 32 and ff; Eduardo Galván Rodríguez, *Tríptico de la Real Audiencia de Manila* (*1583–1700*), Las Palmas, Gran Canaria, 2007, pp. 12–28.

from this judicial organism, there was also a body of officials of the *Hacienda Real* (Royal Exchequer) who came to be responsible for the collection of indigenous tributes and duties over maritime trade (*almojarifazgo*).[13] Manila also rapidly developed a sophisticated ecclesiastical structure: in just sixteen years, the city grew from a suffragan diocese of Mexico (1579) to an archdiocese with three bishoprics under its dependence (1595).

Nagasaki, for its part, extended to Japan the virtues of the mutually beneficial partnership between Macau's merchants and the Society of Jesus. The favorable relationship between Ōmura's *daymio* and the missionaries allowed for the attraction of Portuguese investments and vessels to the city, creating a preferential port in the archipelago. From 1571 onwards it became the final destination of the Portuguese commercial fleet that annually left Goa bound for Japan;[14] and in 1580 the city was granted to the Society as part of a strategy by Ōmura's *daymio* to insure a rearguard defense against his rivals.[15] As for its links to the *Estado da Índia*, Nagasaki was a place of an even lesser institutionalization than Macau. The authority over the Portuguese community was exercised by the captain-major of the Japan voyage or by the Bishop of Japan who resided in Nagasaki.[16] The government of Nagasaki, however, had nothing to do with Portuguese authorities in Goa, but was rather in the hands of a *yakunin* (justice official) and a board of four elders belonging to the Japanese urban elite (*tōnin/machidoshiyori*), directly responsible before the *Kanpaku* (imperial regent).[17]

The unequal degree of institutionalization of the three cities is relevant to the relationship between their respective societies and the Holy Office. In order to exercise its ministry, the Inquisition was as much affected by the conditions of permanence in the terrain as were the other regulatory institutions of the Iberian Crowns. In these settlements of uneven institutionalization, introducing the Holy Office meant a mutual accommodation between

13 Luis Alonso Álvarez, *El Costo del Imperio Asiático. La formación colonial de las islas Filipinas bajo domínio español, 1565–1800*, México and La Coruña, 2009, pp. 74–75.

14 Charles Ralph Boxer, op. cit., p. 32.

15 J.S.A. Elisonas, "Nagasaki: The Early Years of an Early Modern Japanese City," in Liam Matthew Brockey ed., *Portuguese Colonial Cities in the Early Modern World*, Farnham, England, 2008, pp. 72–73.

16 João Paulo Oliveira e Costa, *O Cristianismo no Japão e o Episcopado de D. Luís Cerqueira*, Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas da Universidade Nova de Lisboa (PhD thesis), vol. I, Lisbon, 1998, pp. 549–550; Helena Margarida Barros Rodrigues, *Nagasáqui* Nanban. *Das origens à expulsão dos portugueses*, Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas da Universidade Nova de Lisboa (M.A. thesis), Lisbon, 2006, pp. 51–52.

17 J.S.A. Elisonas, op. cit., p. 82.

tribunal and society in which the level of support of the latter partly dictated the options for representation chosen by the former. The greater the Inquisition's institutional presence (through visitations, promulgation of edicts, *familiares*, notaries, consultants, *alguaziles* or *naiques*/local interpreters), the greater its effect on the daily social practices of the population.

In this regard, options for inquisitorial representation during the sixteenth century in these three cities were profoundly disparate. Manila became perfectly integrated in the *novohispano* district from 1586 onwards, when Fr. Francisco Manrique, OSA, became the legitimate *comisario* of the Mexico Inquisition.[18] At the same time, Manila became home to two secretaries, a consultant and several *familiares*. In 1601 these officials numbered six, one of whom was a *vara de alguacil mayor* (responsible for the prison and keeping the property of those detained in the name of the Holy Office).[19]

Macau and Nagasaki were much less sophisticated than Manila in their inquisitorial apparatus, and their rhythms of institutionalization decisively slower. The Japanese city doesn't seem to have benefited from a duly appointed *comissário* until 1619,[20] even though there is notice of antecedents of intervention by the Bishop of Japan in matters pertaining to the faith.[21] As for Macau, its entry into the district of the Goa Inquisition did not imply the growth of a particularly sophisticated inquisitorial organization in the settlement. The Bishop of China, D. Leonardo de Sá (1578–1597), was empowered by the General Inquisitor himself with jurisdiction over new Asian converts; but it

18 This marked the end of the Episcopal Inquisition, introduced by bishop friar Domingo de Salazar, OP, shortly after his arrival at Manila in 1581. Cf. José Toribio Medina, *El Tribunal del Santo Ofício en las Islas Filipinas*, Santiago de Chile, 1899, pp. 16–27.

19 Letter of friar Bernardo de Santa Catalina, commissar to the Holy Office in Manila, to Mexico Inquisition, July 8th 1601, at Manila. AGN, *Inquisición*, vol. 263, fl. 71v.

20 Commission of Goa's inquisitors to the bishop of Japan, D. Diogo Valente, SJ, May 11th 1619, at Goa, Miguel Rodrigues Lourenço, *Macau e a Inquisição nos Séculos XVI e XVII – Documentos*, vol. I, Lisbon and Macau, Centro Científico e Cultural de Macau and Fundação Macau, 2012, p. 93.

21 J.F. Moran refers to two New Christians sent to the Goa Inquisition by D. Luís Cerqueira, SJ, in 1598, which seems to have happened of his own volition and not as a response to an inquisitorial warrant. One may have been Paulo Gonçalves, married at Nagasaki, tried in 1599 for ill-spoken words. Cf. *Reportorio Geral de tres mil oitocentos processos, que sam todos os despachados neste Sancto Officio de Goa*, [...], BNL, *Códice* 203, fl. 569. J.F. Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits. Alessandro Valignano in sixteenth-century Japan*, London, 1993, pp. 26 and 96. Letter of Alessandro Valignano, SJ, Visitor of China and Japan's Vice-Province, to Claudio Acquaviva, General of the Society of Jesus, 25 October 1598, at Nagasaki. ARSI, *Jap-Sin* 13-II, fl. 213v.

was not until the first decade of the seventeenth century that a regular commissar named by the Inquisition of Goa was present.[22] There is no evidence of a notary being nominated by the tribunal before 1636, and no mention of resident *familiares* in the exercise of their duties before 1641.[23] Finally, the inventory of properties belonging to those detained by the Holy Office fell to the *ouvidor* (royal judge), and not to a formally constituted agent as in Manila.[24]

Macau, Manila and Nagasaki: Accusations, Testimonies and Operative Identities

As a social practice, the accusation, either because it is prompted by social tensions inside a given group or society, or by emotional responses of fear or both,[25] raises an epistemological problem that pertains to the reliability of the testimony.[26] Amply debated in inquisitorial studies, owing to an early awareness

22 *Livro das cidades, fortalezas, qve a Coroa de Portugal tem nas partes da India, e das capitanias, e mais cargos qve nelas ha, e da importancia delles*. Edition prepared by Dr. Francisco Paulo Mendes da Luz, 2.ª ed., 1960, fls. 74v–75. Miguel Rodrigues Lourenço, *O comissariado do Santo Ofício em Macau*, vol. I, pp. 220–221.

23 Cf. « Tratado em que se responde a várias dúvidas que se moveram nas inquietações da cidade de Macau », pelo padre António Ferreira, SJ, lente de Prima de Teologia na Universidade de Macau, de 1642, Miguel Rodrigues Lourenço, ibid., vol. II, p. 171.

24 This happened during the imprisonment of father João de Matos in 1633, entrusted to the rector of the college of the Society of Jesus, father António Cardim, SJ. He went for the *ouvidor* to place Matos in prison and for the inventory of his estate. Traslado do processo do padre João de Matos na Inquisição de Goa, de 1634, ibid., vol. I, p. 179.

25 Bartolomé Bennassar, "L'Inquisition ou la pédagogie de la peur", *L'Inquisition Espagnole. XV^e–XIX^e siècles*, Paris, 2001 [1979], pp. 101–137; Maria José Pimenta Ferro Tavares, "Inquisição: um « compellere intrare » ou uma catequização pelo medo (1536–1547)", *Revista de História Económica e Social*, num. 21, Lisbon, 1987, pp. 14–28; Elena Brambilla, *Alle origini del Sant'Uffizio: Penitenza, confessione e giustizia spirituale dal medioevo al XVI secolo*, Bolonha, 2000, p. 396.

26 In inquisitorial studies the subject of "truth" has generated much interest, particularly in what concerned the trial itself. The debate is partly impelled by the complex discussion on the religious identity of New Christians, underlining the codifying role of the institution and the intention or circumstances of the defendant/speaker in the production of discourse, thus questioning the value of the trials' records for historical interpretation. Historians have sought to determine the limits of the testifying discourse as a reflection of social reality, thus establishing oppositions between the authenticity of the inquisitorial document as procedure and the truthfulness of the declarations recorded therein (António José Saraiva; Charles Amiel); between "*veracious*" and "*verisimilitude*,"

of the intense codification of inquisitorial language, the consistency of judicial testimony is usually understood as deductable from the approximate reconstruction of the web of relationships and social solidarities that have their core in the defendant.[27]

Even though the sum of the testimonies invites a reconstruction of the social settings that produced a given accusation, doubt regarding the truthfulness of the statements still lingers; especially, the value that one should accord not only to the coincidence in content, but also to textual expression. The homogeneity is present in the text itself but also in the information recorded which raises difficulties that go beyond the mere textual codification of the document, that is to say, the formalism specific to the institution where it is made. Concordance between testimonies encourages us to look beyond the individual testimony and its eventual authenticity, and to consider the statements' discourse as not only of one single deponent but of that of a group. That

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a distinction based on the intention of the speaker to convince his interlocutor of the truth he is declaring (Herman Prins Salomon); between "*fictionality*" and "*facticity*" of a discourse that is conventional and administrative in essence, prepared according to textual pragmatic strategies (Rolf Eberenz and Mariela de la Torre), but where the time elapsed between the session and the recording might affect oral sequences and diegetic processes, aside from problems in the transmission of statements (memory of the facts, psychological state of the deponent). Andrea del Col, on the other hand, sustains that the matter should not be understood from a true/false diaclectic, but on the grounds that inquisitorial sources evidence a judicial practice rather than a direct knowledge of cultural, popular or intellectual forms. Cf. Paul Ricoeur, *La mémoire, l'histoire, l'oubli*, [s. l.], Éditions du Seuil, 2000, p. 202; António José Saraiva, "Sobre o método historiográfico," *Inquisição e Cristãos-Novos*, fifth ed., Lisbon, Editorial Estampa, 1985, pp. 13–15; Charles Amiel, "Crypto-judaïsme et Inquisition. La matière juive dans les édits de la foi des Inquisitions ibériques", *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, vol. 210, num. 2, 1993, p. 155; H.P. Salomon, "Les procès de l'Inquisition Portugaise comme documents litteraires, ou du bon usage du fonds inquisitorial de la Torre do Tombo," *Estudos Portugueses: Homenagem a António José Saraiva*, Lisbon, 1990, p. 152 and ss; Rolf Eberenz and Mariela de la Torre, *Conversaciones estrechamente vigiladas: Interacción coloquial y español oral en las actas inquisitoriales de los siglos XV a XVII*, Saragoça, 2003, pp. 24–25 and 68–74; Andrea del Col, "I processi dell'Inquisizione come fonte: Considerazioni diplomatiche e storiche," *Annuario dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per l'Età Moderna e Contemporanea*, vols. XXXV–XXXVI, Roma, 1983–1984, pp. 42–44.

27 On his above-mentioned paper on denunciations, Jean-Pierre Dedieu stresses a methodology that favors a reasonable reconstruction of the events as an option for the preferential analysis of inquisitorial testimonies. Jean-Pierre Dedieu, "Denunciar-denunciarse. La delación inquisitorial en Castilla la Nueva en los siglos XVI–XVII," *Revista de la Inquisición*, 2, 1992, p. 106.

which is understood as institutional codification and the intervention of the notary in recording the testimony and eliminating speech patterns[28] can complementarily be seen as a discourse whose production is located in the exterior of the deponent, in the sense that the statement's tone is shared by more than one person. In these circumstances we would be looking at instances of production of narratives that have nothing to do with the regular ministry of the Inquisition's officials, but ones that correspond to social moments of convergence that may very well be the public reading of an edict of the faith, or the agreement on how to testify about a given individual. Statements shared by more than one person can then be regarded as the expression of a collective discourse, whereas an original or unique statement would reflect an unrelated knowledge or a yet-unidentified correlation between individuals. In this light, inquisitorial statements are less important with regard to their truth, than in the way they aim to be truthful. In this section of the essay I will analyze the testimony as a collective discourse in the socio-institutional contexts of Macau, Manila and Nagasaki.

The information for these three cities is, however, disproportionate. Even though we can ascertain the number of trials for Judaism involving people living in Macau and Nagasaki in the sixteenth century by the Goa Inquisition,[29] the destruction of its archive led to the disappearance of all the original trial documentation as well as the books of accusation pertaining to both locations. Of the cases of Judaism in Macau, we have only been able to locate a copy of the proceedings against Leonor da Fonseca, presumably sent to Lisbon by the Goa Inquisition to assist the local tribunal in the trial against her widower, accused of bigamy in 1605.[30]

Even though Leonor's 1594 trial was conducted on suspicions of Judaism, the tone of the testimonies recorded in Macau not only do not suggest directly

28 To Salomon, inquisitorial sources are *ipso facto* compromised in their redaction, transmitting a discourse strictly connected to the organic structure of the Holy Office and to the mentality of the inquisitors. op. cit., p. 164.

29 The *Reportorio* prepared by João Delgado Figueira on the cases followed by the Goa Inquisition between 1561 and 1623 reveals a total of five trials for Judaism against inhabitants of Macau and none regarding Nagasaki during the sixteenth century. Miguel Rodrigues Lourenço, "Macau, porto seguro para os cristãos-novos? Problemas e métodos sobre a periferia da Inquisição de Goa," *Cadernos de Estudos Sefarditas*, num. 10/11, Setembro de 2011, p. 481. We have compared our count with the database coordinated by Bruno Feitler on the same *Reportorio*. See *http://www.i-m.co/reportorio/reportorio/home.html*, available 10 March 2014.

30 Trial of Marçal Fernandes de Araújo in the Inquisition of Lisbon, 1605, Miguel Rodrigues Lourenço, *Macau e a Inquisição nos séculos XVI e XVII*, vol. I, pp. 64–90.

the secret observance of Mosaic law, but only in one statement do we find a direct link between suspicions in religious conduct and her New Christian ancestry.[31] In truth, three of the five initial witnesses agree in denouncing a typology of behaviors dubbed private "ceremonies," but which do not match the common practices associated with Judaic rituals.[32] Only at a later inquiry, when Pedro Martins, acting in his capacity as governor of the bishopric of China,[33] decided to question the cast of domestic servants of Leonor da Fonseca, was her devotion questioned: witnesses mentioned her lack of praying, absenteeism from church, and work on holy days. Even so, only one witness insinuates a vaguely Judaizing behavior, mentioning that she ordered her maids to clean her clothes on Fridays as to not deal with them on Saturdays.[34]

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31 Accusation of Francisco Álvares before D. Pedro Martins, SJ, governor of the bishopric of China, 27 October 1593, at Macau, ibid., p. 28; also, "Attitudes and practices of sociability in Macao at the end of the sixteenth century: the case against Leonor da Fonseca at the Goa Inquisition (1594)," *Bulletin of Portuguese/Japanese Studies*, vol. 17, Lisbon, Dezembro de 2008, p. 162.

32 In fact, the description little suggests Judaic rites: take off her sandals and kiss them; shake the sleeves of her *baju* (coat); kiss the bed where she slept and the kimono she wore. Also, they do not match the practices recorded in the *monitório do inquisidor geral* promulgated in 1536, where a whole set of "*Judaic rites and ceremonies*" was enounced for the benefit and recognition of the populace in identifying a Jew. Neither H. Salomon nor Charles Amiel, who studied the selection of such practices by inquisitorial authorities in the *monitório* hint at any "ceremonies" performed in the fashion of Leonor da Fonseca. Cfr. David M. Gitlitz, *Secreto y Engaño. La Religión de los Criptojudíos*, León, 2003 [1996]; Renée Levine Melammed, *Heretics or Daughters of Israel. The Crypto-Jewish Women of Castile*, New York, 1999; H.P. Salomon, "The monotorio do Inquisidor Geral of 1536. Background and sources of some 'judaic' customs listed therein," *Arquivos do Centro Cultural Português*, vol. XVII, Paris, 1982, pp. 41–64; Charles Amiel, "Crypto-judaïsme et Inquisition. La matière juive dans les édits de la foi des Inquisitions ibériques," *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, tome 210, num. 2, 1993, pp. 145–168, especially pp. 151–155.

33 D. Pedro Martins, SJ, was asked by the archbishop of Goa to take charge of the government of the diocese of China in the absence of its bishop. Shortly after his arrival in Macau, he launched a pastoral (not inquisitorial) visit, which was the context in which the testimonies against Leonor da Fonseca took place. He had been a deputy in the Inquisition of Goa (since 1587) and a visitor of that same tribunal (1591) before leaving for Japan in 1593. His decision to send the records of the testimonies to the Inquisition reflects this earlier collaboration. Cf. Miguel Rodrigues Lourenço, *O comissariado do Santo Ofício em Macau*, vol. I, p. 248; Idem, "Attitudes and practices of sociability in Macao at the end of the sixteenth century: the case against Leonor da Fonseca at the Goa Inquisition (1594)," loc. cit., pp. 148–150.

34 Testimony of Maria Pires before D. Pedro Martins, SJ, governor of the bishopric of China, 30 December 1593, at Macau, Miguel Rodrigues Lourenço, *Macau e a Inquisição nos séculos XVI e XVII*, p. 31.

At the same time, the discourse of alterity is conducted without the employment of an ostensibly derisive language: six of the eight witnesses identify her as a New Christian, without any other qualifications or substantives of differentiation. Even if the proceedings against Leonor da Fonseca suggest a circle bent on launching a shadow of suspicion on her conduct, the chosen way to do so seems to have avoided a clear-cut accusation of concealed Judaism.[35]

In Manila, the scenario is the exact opposite. Even though we lack the proceedings against New Christians residing there,[36] we benefit from an ample number of testimonies recorded in the city between 1592 and 1598. In these documents, the lexicon employed by the deponents reflects a clear and diversified discourse of visceral rejection towards New Christians: "*Judio*," "*casta de Judio*," "*Judaizante*," "*perro Judio*," "*puto Judio*," "*de quatro costados Judio*," are but a few of the recurring examples. This lexicon suggests an everyday life where the social usage of differentiation naming is current or usual. Documentary limitations on Macau do not allow for an ample comparison of attitudes and behaviors regarding New Christians in both cities. However, it is noteworthy that when addressing the inquisitorial authority, the usage of a

35 It would be too straightforward to acknowledge in the tone of these proceedings the conscious choice to avoid attracting inquisitorial attention to Macau, where rumors of the late sixteenth century place the existence of a large New Christian community. These rumors, never proved and impossible to quantify, shouldn't be taken for granted. New Christians were present in the whole of the *Estado da Índia*. The question to be asked is whether the informal tradition of the settlement of Macau provided a safe harbor for New Christians and if the lack of a derisive language against Leonor da Fonseca was an expression of this attitude, something that we cannot provide a definitive answer for from these records alone. For the introduction of this perception of Macau as "paradise of refuge" against the Inquisition, read Charles Ralph Boxer, *Macau na Época da Restauração* (*Macao Three Hundred Years Ago*), Lisboa, 1993 [origin. edition of 1942], p. 29, fn. 13. For a critique of this notion, see Miguel Rodrigues Lourenço, "Macau, porto seguro para os cristãos-novos?" *passim*.

36 Even though the New Christians António Dias de Cáceres and Manuel Gil da Guarda were detained by the Holy Office in Manila, their imprisonment was due to inquiries conducted in Mexico and not in the Philippines. See Eva Alexandra Uchmany, "Criptojudíos y cristanos nuevos en las Filipinas durante el siglo XVI," in Issachar Ben-Ami ed., *The Sepharadi and Oriental Jewish Heritage Studies*, Jerusalem, 1982, pp. 88–92 and 94–95. I could only locate the records produced in Manila by the local commissar. As for the remainder of the New Christians living in Manila whose records I managed to locate, all those who were under inquiry either died in the city (Diogo Fernandes Vitória) or during the voyage to New Spain (Rui Pires and Manuel de Faria). And although Domingo and Jorge Rodríguez were effectively tried in Mexico in 1593, I was unable to find the records of their actual trials.

lexicon of differentiation employs a variety and a virulence that has no parallel in Macau.

The specificity of language in the act of addressing the inquisitorial authority suggests that the usage of a lexicon of injurious differentiation has a positive value as an instrument of social order in the highly institutionalized location that is Manila. The weight of blood purity narratives in the territories belonging to the Crown of Castile[37] and the strong adherence to the view that the Holy Office's *familiar* was a member of a social elite surely reinforced what Pierre Bordieu called "*real differences*" between "*classified* individuals."[38] At the same time, the social mechanism of distinction and the language of exclusion likely favored the circulation and crystallization of negative common-places pertaining to New Christians. The theme of the "*Judio huydo de la Yndia*" from the Inquisition seems to have been one of them, having been applied indiscriminately to those, like Rui Pires, who came to the Philippines via the *Estado da Índia* or as Diogo Fernandes Vitória, who arrived from New Spain.[39]

As for Nagasaki, the information available to us suggests a less linear relationship between testimonies than the cases in Macau and Manila. The only known interrogations in Nagasaki were conducted by D. Luís Cerqueira, SJ, Bishop of Japan, from 24 September to 3 October 1601, to obtain information on Rui Pires (Ruy Pérez in Spanish documents) and his sons Francisco Rodrigues (aka António Fernandes) and Luís Rodrigues (aka Manuel Fernandes). These interrogations were made on the instruction of the Mexico Inquisition, which had already examined a group of testimonies gathered against the three Portuguese in 1596 and 1597 in Manila and Mexico City.[40]

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37 The Philippines have yet to draw the attention of historians on this matter. However, the strong presence of *familiares* of the Holy Office in late-sixteenth-century Manila suggests that the discourse on blood purity had validity in the context of the Spanish settlements. For an overview of the application of the statutes of blood purity in New Spain (a territory with strong links to the Philippines) and the impact on *novohispana* society, see María Elena Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions: Limpieza de Sangre, Religion, and Gender in Colonial Mexico*, Stanford, 2008.

38 Cf. Pierre Bourdieu, *A Distinção. Uma crítica social da faculdade do juízo*, Lisbon, 2010 [1979], pp. 73–74.

39 Accusation of Alonso Hernández Sandoval before friar Juan Maldonado, OP, commissar to the Holy Office in Manila, 17 June 1597, at Manila. AGN, *Inquisición*, vol. 162, fl. 177v; Accusation of Juan Faras before friar Juan Maldonado, OP, commissar to the Holy Office in Manila, 11 March 1598, at Manila. AGN, *Inquisición*, vol. 162, fl. 216v.

40 Letter of friar Bernardo de Santa Catalina, OP, commissar to the Holy Office in Manila, to Mexico Inquisition, July 12th 1601, at Manila. AGN, *Inquisición*, vol. 263, fl. 56.

In Nagasaki the socio-geographical center of the interrogations seems to have been the *machi* (neighborhood) of Shimabara, where Rui Pires and his sons had previously lodged.[41] The fact that the three men were absent from Nagasaki at the time when the questioning took place conditioned the selection of witnesses, as the domestic circle that assisted them (their slaves and servants) was no longer living there. The cast of witnesses reflects the social matrix of Portuguese experience in Nagasaki: a "European" circle (comprised of Portuguese merchants, all residing in the city, and of Jesuits), and a circle of Japanese Christians. The statements of the twelve witnesses questioned by Cerqueira present several discrepancies and, when they actually converge, have little parallels at the textual level. As such, the degree of originality is striking and the identification of collective or group discourse less evident.

The statements of 1601 reveal a lack of social consensus on the inquired topics that is not limited to the universe of these deponents, since it is also evident in other sectors of the Portuguese-Japanese society of Nagasaki. The non-linear nature of these testimonies offers an interesting example on the complex nature of rumor circulation and on the sedimentation of collective opinions. The religious identity of Rui Pires as presented in the statements illustrates how a same group can be host to perceptions that do not portray a univocal socio-religious profile. Even if "*cristão nouo*" is a category employed by all deponents, thus reinforcing its weight as the category of reference for identification, the usage of "*Judeos*" or "*casta de Judeos*" is predominant in the circle of the converted or in the discourse alluding to the community of Japanese converts. According to the Portuguese Rafael da Costa, it was within the Japanese group that the rumor of Rui Pires' ingestion of meat on forbidden days emerged.[42] Also, Jorge Durões stated that it was common for Japanese Christians to call "*Judeos* (. . .) *a quaisquer homens da nação*."[43] This statement is compatible with the tone of the records of the four Japanese that comprise what we have referred to as the "circle of the converted" in these interrogations. The Japanese deponents reveal the recognition and employment of categories of socio-religious differentiation that suggest a close relation with the European social universe. For example, Tacagui Antonio evidences

41 This *machi* is one of the first residential wards to have been outlined by order of *daymio* Ōmura Sumitada in 1571 in the process of accommodating Nagasaki to become the preferential port of commerce of the Portuguese in Japan. J.S.A. Elisonas, op. cit., pp. 71–72.

42 Testimony of Rafael da Costa before D. Luís Cerqueira, SJ, bishop of Japan, 25 September 1601, at Nagasaki. AGN, *Inquisición*, vol. 263, fl. 137.

43 Testimony of Jorge Durões before D. Luís Cerqueira, SJ, bishop of Japan, 1 October 1601, at Nagasaki, ibid., fl. 140v.

a complex understanding of sociabilities and tensions in European or Luso-Niponic sectors of Nagasaki by stating that "they generally called them [Rui Pires and his sons] Jews, but he reckons that they called them that not because they lived in an un-Christly manner, but because they were of that nation."[44] In a more visceral manner, one of the tenants of Rui Pires, identified only as Maria, referred to him as "*Judeo*," because he ate meat on forbidden days.[45] And the same Tacagui Antonio came to confront Rui Pires on the ever-spreading rumors, warning him that he could no longer associate with him if it was actually true that he belonged to the "*casta de Judeos*" or that he contravened the "*custume de christãos*."[46]

It seems clear that for the community of the newly converted Christians of Nagasaki, the linguistic gap was not a hindrance to the transfer of operative categories of differentiation. Even though three of these Japanese witnesses required an interpreter (thus raising the question on the specificity of the vocabulary employed by the deponents), the level of detail revealed in their answers suggests a strong permeability of cultures of conversion to the transmission and manipulation of collective categories of differentiation.

Judgment passed on Rui Pires' movements between India, Macau, Japan and the Philippines is another topic where dissent in statements is manifest presenting us with yet a further opportunity to consider the influence of social background in the production of inquisitorial testimony.[47] In Nagasaki, still unregulated in the context of the inquisitorial system of representation, the predominant opinion was that Rui Pires didn't leave Macau on the run from the Inquisition. Of the nine witnesses questioned on that possibility, only two did not discard the rumor as false[48] (which is the tacit equivalent of supporting it); five did not even entertain the notion, presenting another explanation for

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44 Testimony of Tacagui António before D. Luís Cerqueira, SJ, Testimony of, 25 September 1601, at Nagasaki, ibid., fl. 138. In the original Portuguese: "*geralmente lhe chamauão Judeos, mas que lhe pareçe que lhe chamauão assi, não por não uiuerem christaãmente, mas por serem daquella nação*".

45 Ibid., fl. 138v.

46 Ibid., fl. 138.

47 On his wanderings, read Eva Alexandra Uchmany, *Art. Cit.*, pp. 95–97; Lúcio de Sousa, *The Early European Presence in China, Japan, the Philippines and Southeast Asia (1555–1590)—The Life of Bartolomeu Landeiro*, Macau, 2010, p. 69.

48 Testimonies of Moro João and Manuel Rodrigues before D. Luís Cerqueira, SJ, bishop of Japan, 25 September and 2 October 1601, respectively. AGN, *Inquisición*, vol. 263, fls. 137 and 141.

Pires' behavior;[49] and two overtly denied such a possibility.[50] Another example that not belonging to the European background is not the same as not having privileged information, is the fact that two of the most elaborate explanations for Pires' travels come from the circle of converted Japanese, the Tacagui brothers, which I will address below.

The scenario could not be more diverse in Manila, then going through the most strenuous phase of inquisitorial pressure against New Christians in the archipelago.[51] Here, a group of twenty witnesses, aside from stating that Rui Pires had already come to Macau "fleeing from India for fear of the Holy Office"[52] (a topic, as we have noted, current in 1590s Manila), opine that this reason must have moved him to journey to Japan and thence to the Philippines.[53] If we add to this yet another set of statements that allude to the action of the captain-major of the Japan voyage or to Macau's *ouvidor*, charged with the imprisonment and relocation to Goa of "*todos los Judios*"[54] or of "*todos los Cristianos nueuos que Judaizauan*,"[55] the idea of an inquisitorial intervention in Macau seems to gain some weight.[56] Furthermore, amongst the deponents called to give testimony in the matter of Rui Pires in Manila were a group of

49 Testimonies of Tacagui António, Sôin Tomé, Jorge Durões, Ambrósio Fernandes and Tacagui Luís before D. Luís Cerqueira, SJ, bishop of Japan, 26 September and 1 October 1601. AGN, *Inquisición*, vol. 263, fls. 138, 139v–140v and 141v.

50 Testimonies of Francisco Rodrigues Pinto and Salvador de Figueiredo before D. Luís Cerqueira, SJ, bishop of Japan, 26 September and 1 October 1601, respectiverly. AGN, *Inquisición*, vol. 263, fls. 139 and 140.

51 Eva Alexandra Uchmany, op. cit., pp. 86–103.

52 Testimony of Francisco, musician of the *cofradía*/brotherhood of the Rosary of Manila, before friar Juan Maldonado, OP, commissar to the Holy Office in Manila, 21 October 1596, at San Gabriel Hospital, Manila. AGN, *Inquisición*, vol. 237, fl. 444. In the original Castilian: "*huyendo de la Yndia por myedo del Santo Ofiçio*."

53 Records on the testimonies on Rui Pires conducted between 9 September 1596 and 23 January 1598 in Manila and México. AGN, *Inquisición*, vol. 237, fls. 443–477.

54 Accusation of Francisco Sánchez de Caravajal before friar Diego Muñoz, OSA, commissar to the Holy Office in Manila, 19 November 1593, at Manila. AGN, *Inquisición*, vol. 237, fl. 488.

55 Testimony of Bartolomeu Jorge before friar Juan Maldonado, OP, commissar to the Holy Office in Manila, 10 June 1597, at Manila. AGN, *Inquisición*, vol. 237, fl. 457.

56 So much so that the Goa Inquisition looked to the officials of royal and ecclesiastical justice of the *Estado da Índia* for help. Also, after 1566 the tribunal benefits from a vice-regal provision that states that all captains of ships should assist the Holy Office in the reception and transportation of every prisoner destined to the Inquisition. Royal decree (*Alvará*) of D. Antão de Noronha, viceroy of India, 6 April 1566. ANTT, *Conselho Geral do Santo Ofício*, livro 298, pp. 488–490. Fully published by António Baião, *A Inquisição de*

five or six people who originated from Macau or had close ties to the city, and thus whose direct knowledge of the events that transpired there would lend credit to their statements.

A closer look at their accounts suggests a less straightforward interpretation of the events, however. The statement of Bartolomeu Jorge on 10 June 1597 reveals that a certain "Juan Gomez Fayo came from Goa with a commission and provision to arrest all Judaizing New Christians, promising half of the possessions to the denouncers and the other half to the royal exchequer and this witness [who was testifying] accused Ruy Piriz on the account that he believed he was a Jew of the nation and due to a quarrel that occurred in Macau the provision wasn't enforced."[57]

It would seem from the formula of reward described in Jorge's statement that Pires was not necessarily fleeing from Macao because he had been accused of Judaism by the Inquisition.[58] Rather, the presence of Crown officials carrying out a resolution that would make all New Christians' existence in the settlement precarious prompted his departure. The enforcement of a

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Goa. Tentativa de história da sua origem, estabelecimento, evolução e extinção (*Introdução à correspondência dos Inquisidores da Índia 1560–1630*), vol. I, Lisbon, 1945, pp. 293–294.

57 Testimony of Bartolomeu Jorge before friar Juan Maldonado, OP, op. cit., fl. 457. In the original Castilian: "*bino de Goa a Macan Juan Gomez Fayo con vna comysion E prouision para prender todos los Cristianos nueuos que Judaizauan prometiendo la mytad de los bienes al denunçiador y la otra mytad para El fisco y Este testigo por tener al dicho Ruy Piriz por Judio de naçion denunçio del y por çierta brega que vbo en Macan no se Executo la comysion*".

58 A partition of the guilty party's possessions between the accuser and the royal exchequer is evocative of a penal culture already present in Portuguese mediaeval juridical bodies that encouraged the practice of accusations by way of a material reward to the accuser. The *Ordenações Manuelinas*, in effect in Portugal until 1603 also integrate this formula. In contrast, the confiscation of property in the course of an inquisitorial arrest provides no financial compensation to the accuser. These practices are also present in restrictions to the circulation of New Christians in royal decrees (*alvarás*) of D. João III and D. Sebastião from the 1550s and 1560s. Royal decree (*Alvará*) of D. Sebastião dated 30 June 1567, Duarte Nunes do Lião, *Leis Extravagantes e Reportório das Ordenações*. Nota de apresentação de Mário Júlio de Almeida Costa. Edição fac-similada, Lisbon, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1987 [1569], quarta parte, lei IX, fls. 164v–165. On the mediaeval practice of confiscation of property in the specific case of the heretics and its distribution, read Vincenzo Lavenia, "Confisca dei beni", *Dizionario storico dell'Inquisizione*. Diretto da Adriano Prosperi con la collaborazione di Vincenzo Lavenia e John Tedeschi, vol. I, Pisa, 2010, p. 375. For the Portuguese Inquisition, see, Ana Isabel López-Salazar Codes and Giuseppe Marcocci, "Struttura economica: Inquisizione portoghese," ibid., vol. III, pp. 1537–1541.

royal decree as the reason for Pires departure from Macau is also compatible with the statements of the Tacagui brothers, which mention a "law prohibiting New Christians to journey here,"[59] and the "order of the King or Viceroy of India that all New Christians operating in China and Japan would be sent to India or Portugal."[60] Furthermore it conforms with Jorge Durões' testimony, in which he states that as "there was a royal decree that no New Christians came to the Southern parts, Melaka, China and Japan Ruy Pirez had been accused in Macau before the royal judge for being a New Christian by one Bertolameu Jorge."[61]

In the 1580s, the Spanish Crown, now in control of Portuguese affairs, was reviewing a faltering policy of control of New Christians in the *Estado da Índia*, hesitating between the relocation to Portugal of all those who had travelled there without permission (1585; 1588) or just those considered the most harmful according to the Viceroy (also in 1585).[62] At the same time, the Crown attempted to impose obstacles to the transit of New Christians. During the governance of viceroys Francisco Mascarenhas (1581–1584) and Matias de Albuquerque (1591–1597), circulation of these "*homens da nação*" was restricted, China being expressly designated as one of the forbidden destinies.[63] It must have been in these decades that the practice of entrusting expulsion of New Christians to the captain-majors of the Japan voyage took place; for it was against the captains-majors' noncompliance with these measures that the Bishop of Japan, the aforementioned Pedro Martins, reacted around 1596. The Bishop criticized the captain-majors for accepting gifts in

59 Testimony of Tacagui Luís, op. cit., fl. 141v. In the original Portuguese: "*pragmatica que os christãos nouos não uiessem a estas partes*."

60 Testimony of Tacagui António, op. cit., fl. 138. In the original Portuguese: "*ordem del Rey ou do Visorrei da Jndia que se mandassem ir pera a Jndia, ou pera Portugal todos os christãos nouos que andauão nestas partes da China, e Jappã*."

61 Testimony of Jorge Durões, op. cit., fls. 140–140v. In the original Portuguese: "*auendo ley del Rey que nenhuns christãos nouos passassem a estas partes do Sul, Malaca, China e Jappão, elle Ruy Pirez fora accusado em Macao parante o ouuidor del Rey por hum Bertolameu Jorge, por christão nouo*."

62 Letter of Philip II to D. Duarte de Meneses, viceroy of India, 16 March 1585, at Saragoça, J.H. da Cunha Rivara, *Archivo Portuguez-Oriental*, fascículo 3, Nova Goa, Imprensa Nacional, 1861, p. 54; Letter of Philip II, through Miguel de Moura, to D. Duarte de Meneses, viceroy of India, 24 January 1588, at Lisbon, ibid., pp. 121–122.

63 Letter of Philip II, through Miguel de Moura, to D. Francisco da Gama, viceroy of India, 12 February 1597, at Lisbon, ibid., p. 698; Charter by Matias de Albuquerque, viceroy of India, 1 March 1594, at Goa, ibid., pp. 464–465.

exchange for looking the other way, stating that it was a common practice.[64] It may also be to this reality that Augustinian friar Francisco Manrique alluded in a letter of ambiguous meanings, where he uses a topic associated with Judaism to describe Macau's inhabitants' fidelity to the Habsburgs:

> we have been ill-received by many due to the fact that we are Castilians, even if not by all (…) and this lasts until the present day in some who have no reason to [act that way] and so it would be best if they were not in these parts because they're not of clean lineage and they should be expelled in the way Your Majesty always dictates; because sometimes they are responsible and are almost always the ones that neither recognize Your Majesty as king nor the law nor anyone and words have been running through the streets that they expect the messiah which they call king that is Lord Antonio [pretender to the Portuguese Crown] and to Your Majesty they call this Philip or that Philip.[65]

The scarcity of sources to reconstruct the history of Macau in this period is an obstacle to thoroughly clarifying the matter of the proposed deportations. Presbyter Francisco Sánchez de Caravajal mentions having travelled from Melaka to Macau in the presence of Franciscan friars Martín Ignacio de Loyola, OFM, and Francisco Ramos, OFM, during which time he overheard them talk to the captain-major of the Japan voyage about an order to ship all New Christians to Goa.[66] This conversation took place in 1586, the year when the

64 Letter of Prince Philip, through Miguel de Moura, to D. Francisco da Gama, viceroy of India, 10 March 1598, at Lisbon, ibid., p. 862.

65 Letter of Friar Francisco Manrique, OSA, to Philip II, 1 March 1588, at Macau. AGI, *Filipinas*, 79, N17, s/f.

66 Accusation of Francisco Sánchez de Caravajal, op. cit., fl. 488. Friar Martín Ignacio, nephew of Ignacio de Loyola, arrived in India from Spain in late 1585 with a papal brief to preach in China, a patent from the Franciscans' Commissar General to recruit up to a total of twelve friars from whichever provinces and to travel to whichever destination he saw fit, and with another apostolic letter from the viceroy of Portugal, Cardinal-Archduke Albert that granted him permission to preach in Cochinchina. Friar Martín probably embarked for Melaka in the following April, because he is already mentioned in letters from Macau later in 1586. Granted, Francisco Sánchez stated that these events took place nine to ten years before 1593 (c. 1583–84). However, in those years, friar Martín had left Macau—whence he had journeyed from Manila, and not Melaka—following the Portuguese routes to Lisbon. Also, Friar Francisco Ramos wasn't part of the group that travelled with friar Martín in that year, but rather accompanied him to Goa in 1585. Either the Holy Office's notary in Manila miswrote Sánchez's statement, or the latter's memory failed him upon testifying. Cf. Friar Juan Francisco de San Antonio, OFM, *Chronicas de la Apostolica Provincia de S. Gregorio, Papa, El Magno,* […] *de Religiosos Descalzos de N.S.P.S. Francisco en las Islas*

two Franciscans travelled to Macau.[67] The provision to expel all New Christians from Macao must have been publicized in the same year.

The witnesses that refer to the matter in most detail mention the *ouvidor*'s intention to place Rui Pires under arrest because he was a Jew ("*a titulo de que era Judio*")[68] but also because of problems with Macau's vicar and with the bishop Leonardo de Sá.[69] Having allegedly left Goa on the run from the Inquisition, it wouldn't be surprising that Pires' difficulties in Macau were the result of rumors that he was a Judaizer; at the same time his problems would have been compounded by a royal/vice-regal provision to expel all New Christians from the city, leaving him vulnerable to the accusations of local residents.[70]

Philipinas, China, Japon, &c., Impressa en la Imprenta del vso de la própria Província, sita en el Convento de Nuestra Señora de Loréto del Puéblo de Sampáloc, Extra-múros de la Ciudad de Manila, por Fr. Juan del Sotillo, 1741, part II, book I, chapter XVII, pp. 95–96; F. Eusebio Gomez Platero, OFM, *Catálogo biográfico de los religiosos franciscanos de la Provincia de San Gregorio Magno de Filipinas*, Imprenta del Real Colegio de Santo Tomás, Manila, 1880, p. 38 and 75; F. Lorenzo Pérez, OFM, "Orígen de las Misiones Franciscanas en el Extremo Oriente. IV," *Archivo Ibero-Americano*, num. 4, Madrid, 1914, pp. 207–212; P. Anastasius van den Wyngaert, OFM, *Sinica Franciscana*, vol. II, Quaracchi-Firenze, apud Collegium S. Bonaventurae, 1933, p. 188; F. Félix Lopes, OFM, "Os Franciscanos no Oriente Português de 1584 a 1590," *Stvdia*, num. 9, Lisbon, 1962, pp. 59–60.

67 Father Lourenço Mexia, SJ, mentions friar Martín's efforts to achieve authorization to preach in China on letter dated from December 1586, a topic he would return to in subsequent months. Letter of father Lourenço Mexia, SJ, rector of the *Madre de Deus* residence, to father Manuel Rodrigues, SJ, assistant of Portugal in Rome, 8 December 1586, at Macao, ARSI, *Jap-Sin*, 10-II, fl. 192; Letter of father Lourenço Mexia, SJ, to father Claudio Acquaviva, SJ, General of the Society of Jesus, 23 January 1587, at Macao, ARSI, *Jap-Sin*, 10-II, fl. 230; Letter of father António de Almeida, SJ, to father Manuel Rodrigues, SJ, assistent of Portugal in Rome, 4 February 1587, at Macao, ARSI, *Jap-Sin*, 10-II, fl. 232, where he expressly mentions that Friar Martín arrived in August 1586. Cf. also, *Fonti Ricciane. Documenti originali concernenti Matteo Ricci e la Storia delle Prime Relazioni tra l'Europa e la Cina* (*1579–1615*), editi e commentati da Pasquale M. d'Elia, SJ, vol. I, Rome, 1942, p. 232; Manuel Teixeira, "Os Franciscanos em Macau," *Archivo Ibero-Americano*, t. 38, nums. 149–152, Madrid, 1978, pp. 331–337.

68 Testimony of Jorge Durões, op. cit., fl. 140v; Testimony of Gonzalo Gonzáles Javo before friar Juan Maldonado, OP, commissar to the Holy Office in Manila, 22 April 1597, at Baybay, AGN, *Inquisición*, vol. 237, fl. 448.

69 Testimony of Paulo Garcês before friar Juan Maldonado, OP, commissar to the Holy Office in Manila, 22 22 April 1597, at Manila, ibid, fl. 460; Testimony of Tacagui António, op. cit., fl. 138.

70 As I was in the process of translating this paper, I came across a recent work by Lúcio de Sousa, focusing on the life of Rui Pires, in which the author expresses his understanding that the events mentioned by Bartolomeu Jorge were mainly due to a commission from the Holy Office, an opinion I do not share. However, the author provides a compelling

Whatever his motives, according to most testimonies, Rui Pires soon left the city for Nagasaki, onboard a vessel captained by Jerónimo Pereira.[71]

What needs to be underlined here is that the testimonies of Manila pertaining to the events that occurred in Macao between 1586 and 1588 either hint at inquisitorial persecution ("En Macan o en la Yndia lo quisieron prender por Judayzante";[72] "por hazer cosas de Judio y Judayzar se huyo de la Yndia que le querian prender")[73] or overtly declare it ("dezian que benia huyendo de la santa Ynquisiçion El y dos hijos").[74] Here, the perception of the offending or wrongdoing Rui Pires is enforced through usage of a lexicon of injurious differentiation ("*judayzar*," "*Judio*," etc.) when explaining why he left Macau. On the other hand, at Nagasaki, where the inquisitorial system was not as enmeshed in society, the statements steer away from a scenario that attributes Pires' wanderings to the actions of the Holy Office, mentioning rather a royal expulsion order against the New Christians that the city managed to block.[75]

The minute information available in order to reconstruct Rui Pires' biography points to local disputes where inquisitorial jurisdiction may have been invoked, evoked or exploited, and where his New Christian nature was brought up, forcing him into exile from Macau. Whatever the nature of his dealings with the Inquisition, most of the testimonies of Manila promote and insinu-

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argument on the reasons for Pires' misfortune in Macau, stating that his recent presence in the city left him exposed to the social tensions brought about by the presence of Fayo, turning him into a scapegoat for some sectors of Macau's society. See Lúcio de Sousa, "A presença judaica em Macau, Nagasáqui e Manila no século XVI: O caso Ruy Perez," *Revista de Cultura*, num. 43, III série, Macau, 2013, pp. 71–91, especially pp. 75–81.

71 In the words of D. Jerónimo Pereira himself, he arrived at Macau in 1586. According to Charles Boxer he embarked to Japan no sooner than 1588, and so it stands to reason that it should be the year when he transported Rui Pires to Nagasaki. Cf. Translation of the letter of Jerónimo Pereira, captain-major of the Japan voyage, to the marquis of Villamanrique, viceroy of Mexico, 10 July 1587. AGI, *Patronato* 25, R31, s/f; Charles R. Boxer, op. cit., p. 45.

72 Accusation of friar Diego de Castañeda before friar Juan Maldonado, OP, commissar to the Holy Office in Manila, 9 September 1596, at San Gabriel Hospital, Manila, AGN, *Inquisición*, vol. 237, fl. 443.

73 Testimony of Pedro de Solis before Friar Juan Maldonado, OP, commissar to the Holy Office in Manila, 10 June 1597, at Manila, AGN, *Inquisición*, vol. 237, fl. 458.

74 Testimony of Bartolomeu Jorge before Friar Juan Maldonado, OP, op. cit., fl. 457.

75 According to Bartolomeu Jorge the order/commission was left unenforced due to an ensuing "*brega*" (riot), something that would later occur in the 1590s, as James Boyajian informs us. In 1597 an order sent from Lisbon called for the expulsion of all New Christians from Macau (one which Viceroy Matias de Albuquerque ordered to be carried out) met once again the opposition of—most likely—the city's mercantile elite. James C. Boyajian, *Portuguese Trade in Asia under the Habsburgs, 1580–1640*, Baltimore, 2008 [1993], p. 80.

ate a relation between Fayo's "*commission and provision*" (the royal provision of 1585?) and a crypto-Jewish identity, producing the phenomenon of attributed identities, theorized by Juan Ignacio Pulido Serrano.[76] However, what the cases observed at Macau, Manila and Nagasaki suggest is that for each territory attributed identities are also operative identities, forged and fashioned to the specificities of such places, in which the logics of sociability, the particularities of social groups and the modalities of institutional representation influence and affect directly the way the deponent addresses the inquisitorial authority. Rather than a socio-religious profile, accusations and statements in these three cities describe an identity with operability in the context of the societal order in which they are produced.

Concluding Remarks

Inquisitorial testimonies are ambiguous narratives that waver between an individual and a collective discourse, formatted by the codifying intervention of the Holy Office's notaries. Social practices and behaviors denounced in inquisitorial records, far from referring only to those accused, reveal attitudes of society itself in the creation of these narratives of definition of social and religious identities. Unfortunately, the destruction of the Goa Inquisition archive neither allows us to establish serial data or determine constants for Macau and Nagasaki, as we can in the case with Manila. The only available record of witnesses against a New Christian of Macau is that of Leonor da Fonseca, and this clearly cannot function as a definite answer as to whether the relative discretion in the usage of an injurious lexicon on behalf of the deponents reflects a broad social attitude towards New Christians, a calculated option by Leonor's detractors, or the result of a notarial omission of virulent language.

Despite our documentary limitations, denouncing and testifying before the Holy Office does not seem to be a practice that met with a uniform disposition in the three territories considered in this essay. In Macau, Nagasaki and Manila the employment of an injurious lexicon, the association between New Christians and the crime of Judaism, and the description of institutionalized initiatives against New Christians are not equivalent.

An eminently social action, the inquisitorial testimony cannot be indifferent either to the context of deposing, nor to the agent that promotes it (a governor of a bishopric in the context of a pastoral visitation; a bishop as the head of

76 Juan Ignacio Pulido Serrano, "Plural Identities: the Portuguese New Christians," *Jewish History*, num. 25, 2011, pp. 138 and 148–149.

interrogations being conducted at his residence; a *comisario* to the Holy Office in full exercise of its functions). Neither can it be indifferent to the inquisitorial apparatus of the territory in which it is delivered, nor to the degree of institutionalization in that area. The wanderings of Rui Pires may be a paradigmatic example in this regard. The notion of an escape for religious reasons as a motive for his continuous displacement through East and Southeast Asia is firmer in Manila where an injurious lexicon against New Christians is more ingrained than in Nagasaki, where rumor is discarded in favor of other explanations. The brunt of the statements recorded in Manila emphasized the image of a Judaizing Rui Pires in a context of inquisitorial persecution that would push him ever to the edge of Goa's district, until refuge was found in territories exterior to its jurisdiction. Without disregarding the Macau inhabitants' knowledge of Pires' background, documentary hermeneutics suggest another possible explanation for their assessments.

Simultaneously an individual and a collective social act, the inquisitorial testimony adapts to the society in which it takes place, reinforcing or screening the relationship between crime and suspect, between testimony and attributed identity, and ultimately between society and the sectors (or individuals) that it rejects. As a collective act it is the product of a social convergence that funnels the needs and common-places of the society in which it occurs, thus conditioning beforehand the tone and content of its narrative. As such, a reconstitution of the historical experience of New Christians should consider closely the relationship between social convergence and the Holy Office's institutional practices.

CHAPTER 6

Converso Complicities in an Atlantic Monarchy: Political and Social Conflicts behind the Inquisitorial Persecutions

Ignacio Pulido Serrano

The Jewish Question and the American Inquisition

In the middle of the seventeenth century, the Inquisition carried out a series of violent offensives against groups of Portuguese merchants and businessmen living in the principal cities of Spain and its empire. Lisbon, Lima, Cartagena de Indias, Mexico City, Seville and Madrid were the foremost sites of these persecutions, all of which conformed, as we will see, to a similar model. In my opinion this allows us to treat these episodes as an Ibero-Atlantic phenomenon.

The Inquisition attacks in Spanish America have been referred to since the seventeenth century as "the great complicities," in respect to the dimension of the offensive, neither witnessed before nor after the decades 1630 and 1640.[1] According to the authors who have studied these episodes, the Inquisition tribunals of Lima, Cartagena de Indias and Mexico discovered, dismantled and definitively wiped out the so called Portuguese crypt-Jewish communities, which it seems had been extending throughout the Indies since the sixteenth century. Some authors have discovered a number of connections between these actions that took place in the three American tribunals that explain why three important waves of repression occurred in just over a decade between 1635 and 1649.

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* Translation by Fabiola Martínez

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1 Toribio Medina, *Historia del tribunal del Santo Oficio de la Inquisición en Chile*, Santiago de Chile, 1952. Seymour B. Liebman, *Los judíos en México y América Central* (*fe, llamas e Inquisición*), Madrid, 1971. Solange Alberro, *Inquisición y sociedad en México, 1571–1700*, México, 1988. Paulino Castañeda y Pilar Hernández, *La Inquisición de Lima* (*1635–1696*), tomo II, Madrid, 1995.

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These circumstances lead us to believe that the events were the result of an inquisitorial campaign to wipe out crypto-Judaism in the Americas. We therefore face a singular phenomenon, characterized by a confederate fight against the establishment of Jewish communities in the Americas. In our view, however, this phenomenon should be understood within a wider framework which includes the Iberian Peninsula, on the one hand, and the American colonies on the other. Thus, in order to understand what was happening in Lima, Cartagena de Indias and Mexico between 1630 and 1650 we must take into account the context of Spain two decades previously, in itself a result of deepening problems in Portugal, due to the alleged Judaism of Conversos in that kingdom.[2]

What we have, in fact, is an expanding sphere of inquisitorial policing, starting with Portugal and extending into the Iberian Peninsula, before entering the American colonies. The rapid progression of this phenomenon during the first half of the seventeen century, reflects the extent to which the tribunals on either side of the Atlantic responded to global trends; and the way in which their activities were the result of interconnected inquisitorial concerns. Hence, over time these conflicts, which were not only religious but also political and social, encompassed a wider geographical space.

We would thus like to consider issues that go beyond the problem of a Sephardic diaspora during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, an aspect which many scholars insist upon. Viewing the phenomenon from this perspective may shed new light on the political and social life of the seventeenth century. In this essay, we will look at the way in which different inquisitorial tribunals—within a monarchy that encompassed a vast Ibero-American geographical space—closely interacted and actively participated in the social and political conflicts of the Spanish territories. This situation also reflects the how well the different parts of the Empire had integrated, at least in matters of a political nature.

The Colombian author Ricardo Escobar Quevedo, in his book *Inquisición y judaizantes en América española* (*siglos XVI–XVII*) has looked at the violent inquisitorial offensives launched by the tribunals of Lima, Cartagena de Indias and Mexico as a unified phenomenon, providing a global perspective on these local manifestations.[3] For Escobar de Quevedo, however, religion continues

2 In this regard, see Ignacio Pulido, *Injurias a Cristo. Religion, politica y antijudaismo en el siglo XVII*, Madrid, 2002, and *Os Judeus e a Inquisiçao no tempo dos Felipes*, Lisboa, 2007.

3 Ricardo Escobar Quevedo, *Inquisición y judaizantes en América española* (*siglos XVI–XVII*), Bogota, 2008.

to be key for understanding this phenomenon. His study shows how these interconnected events expose the existence of a substantial number of crypto-Jewish communities, spread across the Americas during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which were closely connected through endogamy. From this perspective, rather than distinctive local complicities, what we find is one great American complicity formed by large groups and families of crypto-Jews.

Besides the religious question, however, economic factors appear fundamental in the interpretation of these events, as previous studies have pointed out. Hence, while these communities resided in different locations very far from each other, relations between them were possible thanks to trading networks between individuals of Portuguese descent, who formed an Ibero-Atlantic economic oligopoly. In sum, the Judaism of these groups was none other than the religious face of trading networks, spread across Spanish territory.[4] What we have, therefore, are groups of *marranos* of Portuguese descent who settled across the American territories thanks to their extensive and resilient trading and commercial networks.[5] Through targeting these widespread Converso networks, the Inquisiton was able to wipe out the various Converso communities that monopolized a large proportion of transatlantic commerce.

Lima's "Great Complicity." The Origins of Conflict

On Sunday 23 January 1639, the largest and bloodiest auto-de-fe in the inquisitorial history of the Viceroyalty of Peru took place in Lima. Of the 87 people on trial, 71 were charged with Judaizing. In the most recent work that looks at the Lima tribunal during this period, Paulino Castañeda and Pilar Hernández refer to this episode as "the great complicity" of Judaizers, the name by which it has since been referred to.[6] The authors explain the factors that led to a persecution of previously unseen dimensions: the Portuguese Conversos constituted a micro-society, a closed and marginal group always in a defensive stance against society; this allowed them to live and practice their faith with a certain degree of security. Rigorous secrecy and dissimulation was vital to their

4 Ricardo Escobar Quevedo, *Inquisición y judaizantes en América española* (*siglos XVI–XVII*), Bogotá, 2008, p. 155.

5 Jonathan I. Israel, *Diasporas within a Diaspora: Jews, Crypto-Jews and the Word Maritime Empires, 1540–1740*, Leiden, 2002.

6 Paulino Castañeda y Pilar Hernández, op. cit., pp. 287–448.

survival.[7] This group, however, was uncovered by the carelessness of one of its members. Some time in 1634, a young Portuguese called Cordero de Arronchas revealed too much to one of his clients, whose declarations led to numerous accusations and testimonies, to the imprisonment of many, and the seizure of property. One report was enough to provoke hundreds of arrests that escalated rapidly from 1635 to 1637, reaching alarming proportions. Since most of those prosecuted were Portuguese merchants, this led to the bankruptcy of Juan de la Cueva's bank, one of the most important financial institutions in Lima, provoking serious economic problems in the Peruvian exchequer.

Historians have pondered the reasons behind the actions of the Lima tribunal, and several hypotheses have been presented to explain it. Most evidence points to financial motives. Such was the opinion of inquisitor Castro, who in a letter addressed to the *Consejo de la Suprema* explained that the financial problems of the tribunal could be alleviated by the seized property of Portuguese merchants.[8] In effect, as Rene Millar has shown, the tax office in Lima not only recovered but surpassed its revenue for years to come.[9] However, even if true, this explanation is not sufficient to fully explain the attack, since the tribunal's financial problems were longstanding. If this was merely a financial issue, why wait until the 1630s to launch the offensive?[10]

A stronger motive may be found in the fact that the Lima authorities feared that the Portuguese were forming an alliance with the Dutch. The inquisitors used the relative autonomy of their tribunal to launch an attack against their potential enemies and safeguard the Spanish territories. In Peru, it was claimed, the Portuguese represented a Jewish invasion in league with the Dutch, and this resulted in a wide spread psychosis.[11] Like a fifth column, the Portuguese Jews, they believed, would readily help the enemies of Spain to conquer the American territories. There was talk of secret meetings of Jews, plotting armed uprisings in order to facilitate the entry of the enemy through the ports of Buenos Aires, Portobelo and Cartagena de Indias. Rumors also circulated amongst the inquisitors of a plot to raze Lima to the ground.[12]

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7 Ibid., pp. 387–388.

8 Archivo Histórico Nacional (AHN), Inquisición (Inq), libro 1041 fol. 16r. Carta del Inquisidor Castro al Consejo de la Suprema (Lima, 11/06/1636).

9 René Millar, "Las confiscaciones de la inquisición de Lima a los comerciantes de origen judío-portugués de *La Gran Complicidad* de 1635," *Revista de Indias*, 1983, 43, pp. 27–58.

10 Paulino Castañeda y Pilar Hernández, op. cit., pp. 209–258.

11 Ricardo Escobar Quevedo, op. cit., p. 159. Paulino Castañeda y Pilar Hernández, op. cit., pp. 421–425.

12 Ibid., p. 422.

In sum, the Portuguese under attack were guilty of a double and terrible crime: heresy and state treason.

There is, however, a third reason for the 1630s' inquisitorial offensive in the Viceroyalty of Peru: the personal animosity of certain inquisitors towards the Converso community. The inquisitor Juan de Mañozca, one of the most resolute and severe of these persecutors, requested extraordinary powers from Madrid to combat the Portuguese threat. His tactics appeared to have worked, as Judaizing groups in the region were practically wiped out after the 1639 auto-de-fe. In the next forty years, between 1639 and 1679, only thirty cases against Jews were reported in the viceroyalty, a negligible number for such an enormous territory.[13]

While scholars agree that most of those prosecuted by the Lima tribunal were Jews, they nevertheless question the prosecutors' motives. There is evidence to suggest that the tribunal abused its power, convinced that the Portuguese Jews represented a threat, and that this was largely promoted by the inquisitor Mañozca. There were, in fact, many false testimonies, which even some of the inquisitors recognized. Furthermore, many of the accused revoked their initial testimonies in which they incriminated others. Even members of the *Consejo de la Suprema* in Madrid were concerned by the events taking place in Lima and suspicious of the tribunal's procedures, expressing their disagreement on a number of occasions.[14]

There were also strong discrepancies between the members of the Lima tribunal, indicating that Mañozca's severe measures created tensions within the Inquisition itself.[15] Licenciate Gaitán, the oldest inquisitor in Lima, asked to be relieved from his office and permission to leave the Americas for a quiet retirement in Madrid. However Inquisitor General Sotomayor forced Gaitán to stay put, hoping he would be able to contain the repression.[16] Like Gaitán, the tribunal's *fiscal* did not look favorably on the repressive tactics of the inquisitors Antonio Castro and Juan de Mañozca, the main promoters of the "great

13 Ibid., p. 435.

14 This was expressed, for example, in the marginal comments that members of the Supreme Council of the Inquisition sent to Madrid in 1637. AHN Inq libro 1041 fols 240r–245vto. "Relación de causas del tribunal de Lima desde mayo de 1636 hasta mayo de 1637 (Lima, 01/05/1637)."

15 Paulino Castañeda y Pilar Hernández, *La Inquisición de Lima*, op. cit., pp. 393–400.

16 AHN Inq. libro 1041 fol. 45r. Letter from the inquisitor Gaitán to the Inquisitor General (Lima 19/05/1636). Licentiate Gaitán had been in the Lima tribunal for 25 years. Before that he spent eleven years in the tribunals of Seville and Cuenca (in the latter as a prosecutor). Having worked for 36 years for the Inquisition, he believed that he deserved a place on the Supreme Council.

complicity."[17] In a report written to the *Consejo*, the prosecutor accused them of being impassioned, vehement, and uncivil in their relationship with their colleagues. He also opposed the request they made to the Supreme Council of the Inquisition to be allowed to carry out executions even when some members of the Tribunal voted against the death sentence.[18] In these cases it was obligatory to consult with the *Suprema*, but for Castro and Mañozca this constituted a needless obstacle which only delayed the necessary purification of the kingdom.

Besides the real extension of Judaism in the Americas, which is not the subject of this study, everything points to two reasons behind the events of "the great complicity": first, the evident prejudice of the inquisitors against the Portuguese, who they believed were without a doubt Jewish heretics; and second, a political climate that favored the persecution of Portuguese Conversos in the Iberian peninsula, and which soon spread across the Americas. Inquisitor Mañozca witnessed this political atmosphere during his stay in Madrid between 1622 and 1623, a time of polemical debates at court regarding the situation of Portuguese Conversos. Looking through the extensive documentation that remains concerning these events, it seems evident that the personal determination of Castro and Mañozca were key in eradicating what they referred to as "the great complicity."[19] Their presumptions and prejudice against the Portuguese population of Peru are evident in their account of the events, as presented to the *Consejo de la Suprema*:

> For the last six to eight years a large number of Portuguese have entered the Kingdom of Peru from Buenos Aires, Brasil, New Spain and Portobelo. The city is full of both married couples and single men . . . They have become well to do through trade, from brocade to sackcloth, and from

17 Paulino Castañeda y Pilar Hernández, op. cit., pp. 397–400. The authors mention a long comment by the prosecutor in which he denounces Castro's and Mañoca's harsh treatment of the accused.

18 AHN Inq. libro 1041 fols. 102r–103r.

19 Don Juan Mañozca y Zamora was born in Villa de Marquina in Viscaya, the son of Domingo Zamora and Catalina de Mañozca. He grew up in Mexico with his uncle Pedro de Mañozca, who worked worked as secretary for the Inquisition. He studied in Spain, in the Colegio de San Bartolomé, Salamanca, where he graduated in canon law. Mañoca became an inquisitor in the Cartagena de Indias tribunal in 1610, the year in which it was founded. He then went to Lima, where he was inquisitor from 1622. In 1640 he became a member of the *Consejo de la Suprema*, after which he occupied the presidency of the *Real Chancilleria* of Granada. From there he moved to Mexico City, where he was made Archbishop of the diocese. He died in 1653.

diamonds to cumin, everything goes through their hands . . . Thus they are men of worth, spending freely and succeeding everywhere . . .

From rumors circulating regarding their large numbers, and from what I have witnessed myself, it was necessary to be very careful of their actions . . .[20]

Cartagena de Indias and México: The New Phases of the "Great Complicity"

The repercussions of the Peruvian "great complicity" were strongly felt in the tribunal of Cartagena de Indias. But even though the city was also exposed to the anti-Converso climate prevalent in the Iberian Peninsula and spreading into the Americas, the tribunal prosecuted only a small number of Portuguese accused of Judaizing. There were autos-de-fe in 1636, 1638, 1642, 1651, and 1653, but the number of sentences was small compared to Lima. Some of those persecuted in Lima had family and commercial ties with Portuguese communities in Cartagena de Indias; this explains how testimonies from the Peruvian tribunal against residents of this port town arrived. But here the inquisitors acted with moderation, despite the rumors that the Portuguese were conspiring with the Dutch, plotting to blow up the city, or holding sacrilegious rituals (including the lashing of crucifixes) in secret synagogues. In his study on the Inquisition and Judaizers in the Americas, Ricardo Escobar attributes the greater leniency of the Cartagena inquisitors to their close relationship with the Portuguese, with whom they shared financial interests.[21]

The situation in Mexico during the 1640s was very different. This last wave of inquisitorial persecution against the Portuguese in the Americas took place

20 "De seis a ocho años a esta parte es muy grande la cantidad de Portugueses que han entrado en este Reino del Perú (donde antes había muchos) por Buenos Aires, el Brasil, Nueva España, Nuevo Reino y Puertobelo. Estaba esta ciudad cuajada de muchos casados y los más solteros. Habíanse hecho señores del comercio . . . Y de tal suerte se habían señoreado del trato de la mercancía que desde el brocado al sayal, y desde el diamante al comino, todo corría por sus manos . . . De esta manera eran señores de la tierra gastando y triunfando . . . El rumor que había del gran múltiplo de esta gente, y lo que por nuestros ojos veíamos, nos hacía vivir atentos a todas sus acciones con cuidadosa disimulación . . .". AHN Inq. libro 1041 fols. 51r–61vto. (Report from the inquisitors of the Lima tribunal to the Council of the Holy Office (Los Reyes, 18/05/1636). "Who provide an account of the complicity of Judaizers which has been uncovered in that city, and a list of the prisoners, their accusations and procedures followed."

21 Ricardo Escobar Quevedo, op. cit., pp. 166–168.

in the heart of the Viceroyalty of New Spain, between 1641 and 1649. The offensive resulted in four autos-de-fe (1646, 1647, 1648 and 1649), during which time almost 200 people were publicly accused of Judaizing.[22] The convicts were practically all Portuguese (some born in Spain and others in the Americas), and were closely connected, highlighting the high degree of integration that existed between Portuguese communities in the Americas.

The great inquisitorial persecution in Mexico can also be explained by the combination of two fundamental factors that are common to the conflicts that took place in different territories across the Atlantic. First, a climate of hostility within the colonial society of New Spain due to the large number of Portuguese living within the Viceroyalty; and second, the zealous actions of a particular inquisitor, who believed Judaism was rife amongst the Portuguese. In New Spain, animosity against the Portuguese grew during the 1640s, reaching levels that some authors have described as close to "hysteria."[23] This was no doubt ignited by the rebellion in Portugal, at the end of 1640.

However, the Portuguese represented more of a threat to some than to others. One of the principle opponents of the Portuguese was the bishop Juan de Palafox who, as one of his recent biographers has shown, joined forces with disaffected creoles in Mexican city to form a strong opposition group against the politics of the Viceroy, the Duque of Escalona. This group used the Portuguese threat as a tool to galvanize the discontent of many within the Viceroyalty, whose officials they blamed for protecting Portuguese interests. They even went as far as to accuse the Viceroy of promoting a secessionist rebellion with the help of the Portuguese in New Spain and their allies in the Iberian Peninsula. Yet again accusations against the Portuguese were based on political and religious factors: perjury and treason.

Once Juan de Palafox became the new Viceroy in 1642, creoles succeeded in displacing the Portuguese from important financial and commercial circles within the viceregal court, and the Inquisition, now led by Juan de Mañozca, became much more active. The inquisitor Mañozca entered Mexico's tribunal in 1642, and used all the means at his disposal to eradicate heresy. His prejudices and stern conviction ignited an already charged political atmosphere favorable to persecution. The only thing needed was a whistle-blower. This came in the person of Gaspar Robles, whose testimony led to a massive repression in which 248 people were prosecuted.

Much has been written about the Judaism of those who appeared in the autos-de-fe between 1646 and 1649. There is a general consensus amongst

22 Ibid., pp. 188–189.

23 Cayetana Álvarez de Toledo, *Juan de Palafox. Obispo y Virrey*, Madrid, 2011, p. 177.

historians about the beliefs and Jewish practices of the accused, even though in reality Portuguese Converso communities in the Americas were very diverse and heterogeneous, with varying degrees of religious assimilation and resistance.[24] What concerns us here, however, are the various political, social, and ideological mechanisms that led to the massive waves of persecution against the Portuguese population in the Americas. Thus we must look at the wider context on both sides of the Atlantic, since we believe that these persecutions are the direct result of events occurring some decades before in Portugal and Spain.

The Great American Complicity as a Consequence of Iberian Persecutions

To a large extent the great complicity of Peru during the 1630s, and the great complicity of New Spain of the following decade can be traced back to Madrid, capital of the monarchy. In 1632 a notorious scandal broke out in the Spanish capital involving Portuguese families accused of lacerating an effigy of Christ on the Cross. News of these heretical acts and the consequent auto-de-fe staged in Madrid soon reached Lima, Cartagena de Indias and Mexico, where families would also be accused of lashing images of Christ, making evident their anti-Christian sentiments.[25] Furthermore, the public demonstrations and mobilizations that took place in Madrid, in support of the abused effigy, also occurred in Lima, where a few years later a cult to the tormented Christ was instigated, promoted by the Peruvian Indian Nicolás de Dios.[26] From this small but significant example of the tormented Christ, one can infer that the political and social atmosphere that resulted in the great complicity of Lima was similar to the tense climate that dominated the Iberian Peninsula around 1630, where the Portuguese New Christians created much enmity and resentment, especially at court.[27]

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24 Seymour B. Liebman, op. cit.; Solange Alberro, op. cit.; and Nathan Wachtel, *La fe del recuerdo: laberintos marranos*, México, 2007.

25 Seymour B. Liebman, op. cit., p. 291. Solange Alberro, op. cit., pp. 574 y 438–439. Ricardo Escobar Quevedo, op. cit., p. 173.

26 Bernardo Sartolo, *Vida admirable y muerte prodigiosa de Nicolás de Ayllón, y con renombre más glorioso Nicolás de Dios, natural de Chiclayo, en las Indias del Perú*. Madrid, 1684, fol. 136 y fol. 151–153.

27 The political opposition that grew in Madrid as a result of the anti-Jewish movement, also gained ground in the Americas, where similar alarmist attitudes fed fears about the

The Lima inquisitor Juan de Mañozca experienced this enmity at first hand during his stay in Madrid between 1620 and 1621. The true protagonist and promoter of the persecutions in Peru had been summoned by the *Consejo de la Suprema* in Madrid to respond to some accusations against him regarding his role in the Cartagena de Indias tribunal. The Portuguese governor of the city Jorge Fernández Gramajo, Inquisitor Salcedo, the General of the Dominican Order, and other religious prelates had filed complaints against his excessive practices as inquisitor of the city's tribunal.[28]

In their study of the Lima tribunal, Paulino Castañeda and Pilar Hernández examine the possibility that the great complicity had been triggered by orders coming from the *Suprema* in Spain, and that the government in Madrid had given instructions to intensify the repression of Portuguese Judaizers in the Americas.[29] However, it is difficult to believe that this may had been the case. We know that the *Consejo de la Suprema*, and especially Inquisitor General Antonio de Sotomayor, favored political moderation with regards to the Portuguese. We also know, thanks to correspondence between the Council and the Lima tribunal, that orders from Madrid tried to ameliorate the stringent policy of Castro and Mañozca. Furthermore, we know that the Suprema prohibited the tribunal to act without their permission against some members of the Portuguese community, whose names were listed in a report of 1637.[30] It seems then that the *Suprema* attempted to contain the fury of the Lima tribunal, and protect those Portuguese who were known to be faithful to the Catholic Church.

At least (and this is no small feat) in Madrid the *Suprema* was able to protect the principal Portuguese bankers of Philip IV from the wave of persecutions that spread across the main cities of the monarchy. As Carmen Sanz Ayán has recently shown, the biggest Portuguese bankers that operated in Madrid, most of whom were Conversos, were spared inquisitorial harassment. They were also unaffected by the downfall of King Philip IV's *valido*, the Count Duque of Olivares in 1643, and by the new direction taken by the Inquisition that year. The protection of these important Portuguese merchants and bankers based

Portuguese threat. Ignacio Pulido, *Injurias a Cristo. Religión, política y antijudaísmo en el siglo XVII*, Madrid, 2002.

28 Ricardo Escobar Quevedo, op. cit., p. 108.

29 Paulino Castañeda y Pilar Hernández, op. cit. p. 421.

30 AHN Inq. Libro 498 fol. 39r. Orden del Consejo al tribunal de Lima para que "no se proceda contra portugueses contenidos en las memorias que se remiten con ésta sin consultar con el Consejo. Madrid, 20/02/1637)".

at court would later save the Spanish Monarchy from bankruptcy in 1647.[31] However in spite of all these efforts to maintain stability in Madrid, alarmist cries had reached the Americas, creating a wave of persecutions of previously unknown dimensions.

While seemingly paradoxical, we must search in Portugal for the first precedents of the "great complicity." It was here where the belief that Portuguese Judaizers constituted a threat to Christian society and the monarchy began,[32] and where, during first half of the seventeenth century, a prolonged offensive against Conversos was launched. During the reign of Philip III (1598–1621), a powerful political alliance began to form between the Viceroys of Portugal (Marquis Castel Rodrigo and Pedro del Castillo), the most important bishops in the Kingdom, and the Portuguese Inquisition. This influential political front was able to pressure the King into passing restrictive legislation in matters concerning New Christians.

In 1616 Philip III signed an agreement with representatives of his Kingdom of Portugal in which anti-Converso politics were firmly established. Rather than the agreed terms, what interests us here, however, are the arguments and propaganda used by those groups that made alliances against New Christians and the King. Behind all the political arguments there was a central concern: that the notable extension of Judaism in Portugal was becoming the most serious threat to the Kingdom, and hence the need for close vigilance of Conversos, and more severe punishment for Judaizers.[33]

During the first decade of Philip IV's reign (1621–1632) tensions arising from the Converso problem increased not only in Portugal but also at the core of the court, in Madrid. The government's attempts to find political solutions to the urgent financial problems of the monarchy, which benefitted Portuguese Conversos involved in banking and trade in Madrid, was creating much resentment and opposition. Starting in Portugal, led by the Lusitanian Inquisition, anti-Converso feelings found supporters in the court of Madrid and amongst the Spanish Holy Office. The Portuguese Inquisition was led by the Inquisitor General Fernando Martins Mascareñas (1616–1629), who during those years, became a staunch campaigner against Conversos, his propaganda endorsed by Lusitanian prelates (bishops, theologians, and jurists), and most of the clergy.

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31 Carmen Sanz Ayán, *Los banqueros y la crisis de la monarquía Hispánica de 1640*, Madrid, 2014, pp. 310–322.

32 Antonio José Saraiva, *The Marrano Factory. The Portuguese Inquisition and Its New Christians, 1535–1765*, translated and revised by H.P. Solomon and I.S.D. Sassoon, Leiden/Boston, 2001.

33 Ignacio Pulido, *Judeus e Inquisiçao no tempo dos Filipes*, Lisboa, 2007, p. 155.

During the famous ecclesiastical Council of Tomar, which took place during the spring and summer of 1629, the most important prelates of Portugal met to establish their principal points of protest. The main issue raised in Tomar was the urgent need to curtail the expansion of Judaism in Portugal and its colonies. In this way, the alarm was raised in Portugal, but also in Madrid where the campaigners' emissaries spread the message that Judaizers were corrupting the Kingdom.[34]

In 1630 a scandal broke out in Lisbon involving a New Christian who was accused of stealing religious icons from the Church of Santa Engracia, provoking much commotion amongst the Portuguese. There were massive demonstrations and incendiary voices accusing all New Christians of heresy, and of wanting to overthrow Christian society.[35] The social discontent in Portugal was also directed against the court in Madrid, seen as the center of the problem. Indignation spread from Portugal to Spain, and from Lisbon to Madrid, bringing the opposing political factions together. In this way, the social upheaval resulting from the 1630 "theft" of religious objects in Lisbon had its replica in Madrid during the summer of 1632, where, as I have noted, the Inquisition staged a massive auto-de-fe in which some immigrant families from Portugal were charged with heresy for supposedly abusing an effigy of Christ.[36]

This type of religious commotion and political protest quickly spread to the Americas finding echo in Lima, Cartagena de Indias and Mexico. Consequently, we may conclude that the "great complicities" of the Indies, while responding to their local context, were in fact part of a single phenomenon that stretched across the Ibero-Atlantic world.

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34 Martin A. Cohen, *The Canonization of a Myth. Portugal's "Jewish Problem" and the Assembly of Tomar 1629*, Cincinnati, 2002. Antonio José Saraiva, *The Marrano Factory: The Portuguese Inquisition and Its New Christians 1536–1765*, op. cit., p. 134. Ignacio Pulido, *Judeus e Inquisiçao*, op. cit., pp. 160–164.

35 Joao Marques, *Parenética portuguesa e a dominaçao filipina*, Lisboa, 1986, pp. 171–174, pp. 273–281 y pp. 337–384.

36 Ignacio Pulido, "Political Aspects of the Converso Problem: on the Portuguese *Restauraçao* of 1640", in Kevin Ingram ed, *The Conversos and Moriscos in Late Medieval Spain and Beyond. Volume Two: The Morisco Issue*, Leiden/Boston, 2012, pp. 219–246.

CHAPTER 7

Philip II as the New Solomon: The Covert Promotion of Religious Tolerance and Synergism in Post-Tridentine Spain

Kevin Ingram

This essay examines the phenomenon of Philip II as the "prudent king" or the "new Solomon." It is usually assumed that these two epithets were references to Philip's attention to state business and his careful mode of decision making. In fact, they were first applied to the young Philip by his Dutch subjects, hoping to move him towards a peaceful and practical statecraft, which included turning a blind eye on occasion to his subjects' religious non-conformism. I will argue that these terms were later adopted by Converso humanists at Philip's court for similar purposes. However, for these Spanish propagandists, Solomon was not only a model for Royal wisdom, or discretion, he was also a reminder of Christianity's links to Jewish religion and culture. In a Counter-Reformation environment in which the Old Testament was relegated to the status of a rarely perused prologue and Conversos continued to be regarded as subversives, or an enemy within, Solomon was advanced surreptitiously as a figurehead for peace, syncretism and assimilation in Spain. In this respect the Solomon phenomenon was similar to the Granada Lead Books fraud. Both were the works of New Christians who wished to promote concordance and assimilation within a Spanish society bent on anathematizing and marginalizing its Converso and Morisco groups.

Solomon and Dutch Non-Conformism

To understand Philip II's "New Solomon" epithet, we need to examine it against a backdrop of a Europe in a perpetual state of conflict over religious issues. This tension was evident not only on the international stage between Protestant and Catholic forces, but also at a local level, where many men and women found themselves in conflict with the official religion of their realm. John Calvin referred to those people who observed the Protestant faith clandestinely in Catholic lands as "Nicodemites," after Nicodemus the Pharisee who visited Jesus in private; however, the term is equally applicable to those

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humanistic thinkers everywhere who found their religious views in variance with Confessionalism, or the adherence to a specific Christian dogma. While these people toed an official religious line in public, in private they were nonconformists, who often advocated toleration or concord. This was the case, for example, of the Dutch humanist Justus Lipsius, whose neo-stoical philosophy, based on the pragmatic politics of Tacitus, called for citizens to uphold the religion of their prince in public to avoid civil strife. However, in private they should be free to pursue their personal inclinations, with the ruler's silent consent. It was a type of practical statecraft which the French had begun to label *politique*.

This pragmatic approach to religion is evident in the Dutch burgers' move to associate the Spanish Prince Philip with the Old Testament King Solomon during the prince's tour of the country in 1549. The tour came at a time of social and religious unrest, with the Dutch cities protesting increased taxes and loss of civil liberties. Particularly incensed by Charles V's recent clampdown on religious heresy, which had led to a spate of state executions, the Dutch wished to rehearse Prince Philip in his future duties to his northern subjects. They pointed out that as the warrior king David was succeeded by the prudent Solomon, so too the warrior Charles would be succeeded by his temperate son Philip, who would then rule, as the welcoming committee of the Flemish city of Tornay put it, "in peace, honor and concord."[1]

This reference to Philip as the prudent, pacific Solomon was repeated in Ypres, Lille, Brussels, Arras and Ghent. It was also adopted five years later by the reform-minded Catholic bishop Reginald Pole in a speech before the English parliament, referring to the imminent marriage between Philip and Mary Tudor. Here Pole compared Charles V to King David, who "was contaminate with Blood and War," and thus "could not build the temple of Jerusalem, but left the finishing thereof to Solomon, which was *Rex pacificus*. So may it be," Pole continued, "that the appeasing of Controversies of Religion in Christianity is not appointed to this Emperor but to his Son, who shall perform the building that the father had begun." Like the Dutch burgers, Pole appears to have been urging Philip towards a peaceful reconciliation with Protestantism.

Philip seems to have been captivated by the comparison of himself to the wise King Solomon. However, he had his own, very orthodox, interpretation of

1 "Reinando en Judea el Rey David por voluntad de Dios, en quien tenía su Fe, ordenó que su hijo Salomón fuese ungido por rey de Israel, y así lo hizo sin desampararlo, porque la tierra estuviese en paz, honra y concordia, por donde el pueblo hizo alegrías . . ." Diego Calvete de Estrella *El felicismo viaje del muy alto y muy poderoso principe Dom Phelippe*, vol. 1, Madrid, 1930, p. 422.

its significance. This is evident in the stained glass window which he donated to Saint John's Church in Gouda, in 1557. Here, in the upper panel, he is depicted in the Temple at Jerusalem next to the Ark of the Covenant, making a very clear analogy between himself and Solomon. Philip, as Solomon, is in fact witnessing the consecration of the temple, in which God was said to have been physically present. In a lower panel we see Philip and his wife Mary Tudor witnessing the last supper, showing their allegiance to the Catholic dogma of transubstantiation—in which God is once again said to be present (fig. 7.1). As a good Counter-Reformation Catholic monarch, Philip employs the consecration of Solomon's Temple as a foreshadowing of the Last Supper and the doctrine of transubstantiation, which, of course, is at the center of the Catholic struggle with Protestantism. Here the focus is not on peace and accommodation, but on a staunch defence of orthodox belief, the message reinforced by the king in knightly armor, showing his readiness to defend the faith.

It is instructive to compare these windows with the canvas painted by Lucas de Heere two years later for Ghent Cathedral, in which Solomon, modelled on Philip, is receiving the Queen of Sheba, who is supposedly an allegorical representation of the Dutch territories (fig. 7.2). The caption on the frame states: "Philip, another Solomon, demonstrates his great wisdom." This is a reference to Kings, Chapter Ten, Verses One to Thirteen, which tell us that on visiting Solomon's court, the foreign Queen of Sheba was impressed with the king's great learning. But I would suggest that Heere's canvas admits another reading: that of a pacific monarch establishing a harmonious relationship with a ruler of divergent faith. Is it merely a coincidence that the Queen of Sheba is a tall, red-haired monarch, like the Protestant Queen Elizabeth, who had recently ascended the English throne on the death of her sister Mary? Is the painting not advocating a rapprochement between Catholic king and Protestant queen, or even perhaps matrimony? It is noteworthy that the work was commissioned by Viglius van Aytta, a renowned jurist, Erasmian humanist, and advocate of religious peace. Viglius was a member of the Dutch regent Margaret of Palma's inner council, although Margaret herself suspected him of secret non-conformism.[2] It is also significant that Lucas de Heere, the artist chosen by Viglius to execute the painting, fled the Netherlands for England after the Dutch uprising of 1566, where he converted to Protestantism.

2 See Juan Rafael de la Cuadra Blanco, "King Philip of Spain as Solomon the Second. The Origins of Solomonism of the Escorial in the Netherlands," in *The Seventh Window. The King's Window donated by Philip II and Mary Tudor to Sint Janskerk (1557)*. While the author examines the Escorial as a new Solomon's temple, he does not study it within the context of Counter-Reformation irenism or *politique*.

FIGURE 7.1 *Philip II witnessing the Last Supper. The King's Window, St. John's Church, Gouda (1557).*

While the allusion to Solomon was intended on one level to flatter Philip, it was also there to remind him of his duty to maintain a harmonious and peaceful realm. This message must surely have appealed to the Spanish Erasmists within Philip's court, who journeyed with the prince to the Netherlands on his 1549 visit. Among this small entourage were Bartolome de Carranza (later Archbishop of Toledo) and Constantino Ponce de la Fuente, both of whom were tried and convicted of Protestant heresy a few years later. Another member of Philip's humanist group was his tutor, Diego Calvete de Estrella who, like his more illustrious and infamous companions, was inclined towards an Erasmian credo. It was Calvete who wrote the official chronicle of Philip's visit to the Netherlands, from which we gain almost all our information on the Solomon references. It is noteworthy that Calvete remained in the Netherlands for six years after the state visit, on the pretext of finishing off his chronicle; although it seems that he was also interested in making the acquaintance of

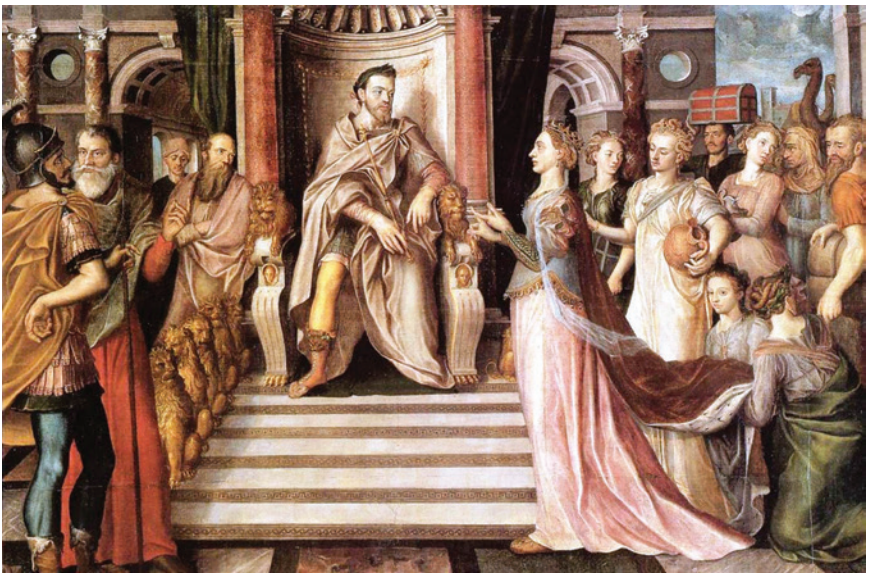

FIGURE 7.2 *Philip II as King Solomon by Lucas de Heere, painted for the Gante Cathedral (1559).*

humanists in an intellectual environment that was rather more liberal than the one he was accustomed to in Spain.[3]

3 The humanist Juan Cristobal Calvete de Estrella entered Philip II's employment in 1541, when he replaced Juan Martínez Silíceo as the prince's tutor. This substitution appears to have been stage managed by Philip's custodian (*ayo*) Juan de Zuñiga, a nobleman of Erasmian sympathies, who had previously contracted Calvete as tutor to his own son, Luis de Requesens, later governor of the Netherlands. In recommending Calvete for the position, Zuñiga circumvented the candidate's humanist education, merely emphasising his sound scholarship. He also avoided his family background, mentioning only that Calvete was an Old Christian, in deference to Silíceo's obsession with *limpieza de sangre* requirements. It is evident, however, that this was a glib assurance, made without prying into the candidate's family background, which was almost certainly Converso. Both Calvete's father and grandfather were physicians, generally considered a Converso occupation. Calvete promoted irenist views within the young Prince Philip's court, introducing Philip to Erasmus' *Institutio principis christiani* and *Querela pacis*. Calvete's *Felicísimo viaje* was expurgated in later editions for its description of the convicted Protestant Constantino Ponce de la Fuente as "muy gran philósopho y profundo teólogo." For Calvete's Erasmian interests, see Jose Luis Gonzalez Sanchez-Molero, "El erasmismo y la educacion de Felipe II," diss., Complutense, Madrid, 1997, pp. 364–373, 410–417, and *passim*. The author does not speculate on Calvete's Converso background.

One of Calvete's new friends was Christophe Plantin, who was soon to become famous as the printer of the Antwerp Polyglot Bible (or King's Bible), edited by the Spanish humanist Benito Arias Montano. Plantin was also a member of the religious sect the Family of Love, a low profile group which promoted private religious observance based on mystical or quietist practice. However, unlike the Anabaptists and Calvinists, both of which were growing in popularity in the middle decades of the century, the Familists did not advocate severance from the Catholic Church, which they regarded as an institution, like a strong monarchy, necessary for political cohesion. Rather, they feigned interest in church dogma and rituals in public, while following their own spiritual path, outlined by their leader Hendrik Niclaes, in private conventicles.

The Family's mixture of Nicodemism—or secret religious practice—and public pacifism attracted many middle class professionals and scholars, including Justus Lipsius, whose Neo-stoicism borrowed from the Familist credo. The sect also appears to have infiltrated humanist circles at the University of Louvain, which had become a haven for Spanish Erasmian scholars, who used the more relaxed environment to form religious debating societies in which non-conformist views circulated freely. One of these conventicles, formed by the scholar and physician Pedro Jiménez, attracted a diverse group of Spanish scholars wishing to discuss, on a daily basis, points of doctrine expounded in the University classrooms. From a report of the conventicle's activities, filed by the Court informer, the friar Baltasar Pérez, it emerges that the meetings were attended by a very varied group of secular scholars and religious, among whom was Gaspar de Grajal, later prosecuted in Salamanca, along with Luis de Leon, for promoting Jewish scripture. Most of the group were, like Grajal, Converso intellectuals who had grown up in volatile, Erasmian environments in Spain, and whose attraction to certain elements of Protestantism was cemented during their travels abroad.[4] One or two may have been secret

4 Among the group were Fr. Julian Tudela, Juan Martín Cordero, Sebastian Fox Morcillo, Fr. Cristobal de Santotis, Fadrique Furió Ceriol, Felipe de la Torre, Tomás Padilla, and Diego de Astudillo (de Burgos). Several of these men had previously formed part of a Parisian non-conformist or Protestant cell led by the Aragonese scholar, Dr. Juan Morilla (see below) The Louvain cell was also connected to a group of Converso non-conformists in Antwerp, led by the merchants Martín López and Marcos Pérez, who were responsible for much of the Protestant literature that entered Spain in the middle decades of the century. Much of our information on the Louvain non-conformists comes from investigations by Arthur Gordon Kinder and Ignacio Tellechea Idigoras. Both scholars seem to be unaware of the fact that most, if not all, of these dissident émigrés were from Converso backgrounds, as are other scholars who have more recently trodden the same terrain. See José Ignacio Tellechea Idigoras, "Españoles en Lovaina en 1551–8," in *Revista Española de Teologia* XXIII, 1963, pp. 21–45, and "Españoles

Calvinists; but most, it seems, were men who were looking to transform their Catholic faith, not necessarily abandon it.

Baltasar Pérez's secret report revealed that Jimenez' group maintained contact with both non-conformist circles in Antwerp and, more disconcertingly, with members of the royal court in Brussels. Three members of the group, Sebastian Fox Morcillo, Felipe de la Torre and Fadrique Furió Ceriol, were all promoted to positions at court just prior to or immediately after Philip's accession to the throne in 1554. Significantly, all three of these men wrote guides to good kingship for the young king, in which they advocated rational, prudent statecraft; and all three were later implicated in Spain's Protestant scare. One of the three men, Fox Morcillo, the son of a Seville Converso merchant, was the brother of Francisco Morcillo, who was among the monks from the Seville San Isidro monastery burnt at the stake in 1560 for their Protestant sympathies. It is believed that Sebastian himself died the previous year in a shipwreck while fleeing Spain to avoid a similar fate to his brother. However, it is not Fox Morcillo that interests us here but his fellow Spaniard Felipe de la Torre, whose *Institución de un rey christiano*, presents Solomon as a role model for Philip II.[5]

In the introduction to the *Institución*, de la Torre tells his readers that the work is a moral guide for princes, based on the scriptures and the opinions of the Church Fathers. In fact, the Church Fathers', views on religious and ethical practice are all but absent from the work. Instead, de la Torre's guide focuses on the Old Testament, and presents the learned Jewish kings, especially the prudent Solomon, as role models for King Philip. Likewise, the author advocates Jewish scripture as an important source of wisdom, recommending that Philip study the Sapienta, as did King Solomon, Israel's most prudent king. Philip would also profit from studying the Hebrew histories, Joshua, Judges and Kings, as well as the Chronicles, which should be supplemented by the classical pagan authors, Cicero, Seneca, Livy and Plutarch.

Having established the essential literary fonts for sound kingship, de la Torre now turns to Philip's duties. As the representative of God, the King should reward good Christians and punish the bad ones. However, these bad apples are not Conversos, traditionally seen as Spain's religious pariahs, but the hypocrites. By hypocrites, de la Torre means those unrepentant churchmen who immersed themselves in ceremonies and tradition, while stubbornly ignoring

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en Lovaina en 1557" in Werner Thomas and Robert A. Verdonk eds., *Encuentros en Flandes*, Louvain, 2000, pp. 133–155; Ronald W. Truman, *Spanish Treatises on Government, Society and Religion in the Time of Philip II*, Leiden, 1999, pp. 35–116; and "El Erasmismo y la educacion de Felipe II," diss. Complutense University, 1997.

5 Felipe de la Torre, *Institución de un rey Christano*, ed. R.W. Truman, Exeter, 1979.

the scriptural source of Christianity. However, ignorance and arrogance were the least of these hypocrites' sins. They were also violent individuals who never tired of killing and spilling blood. They believed themselves to be saintly and clean (*limpio*) while, in fact, their own filth remained uncleansed. Here de la Torre draws a clear distinction between false and real purity—i.e. the clean blood which the Old Christian hypocrites believed they had and the moral or spiritual cleanliness, which they clearly lacked. These people should be prohibited from taking part in legal proceedings, writes de la Torre (a clear reference to the Inquisition trials), and their false testimonies rigorously punished; for one of the things most despised by God, according to King Solomon, was false testimony. And de la Torre recommends that Philip take note of Solomon's words: "The false witness shall not go unpunished. The liar shall not escape, and false testimony shall perish."[6]

De la Torre's work is a call for tolerance and respect within the Christian community. The figure of Christ unites everyone, he tells us, eradicating differences between countries and nations, gentiles and Jews (for which we might also read Conversos), joining everyone together as one in His church and evangelism. Kings should follow Christ's precepts, ruling wisely, with justice and generosity, creating a peaceful, united realm. And de la Torre once again turns to King Solomon as a model for change. Solomon succeeded his father, the warrior David, and established a realm of peace and unity, marked by the building of a temple in which the covenant—or true religion of the people—was kept. It was now incumbent on Philip, who like Solomon followed a warrior father, to construct his own temple (metaphorically speaking) to peace, in which a revitalized, evangelical Christianity would be practised.

Like the Dutch city officials who received Prince Philip during his 1549 tour of the Netherlands, de la Torre makes use of the Solomon analogy to bolster his appeal for prudent and pacific rule, unswayed by Confessionalism. However, de la Torre's Solomon is more than a glib symbol of prudent politics; he is a representative of an ancient Jewish culture presented as a model for a modern Spanish one. Evidently the author's intention is not only to educate the king in wise, impartial rule, but to emphasize Christianity's debt to Judaism, and in so doing narrow the divide separating Old Christian and New Christian Spain. Entwined in de la Torre's irenic argument is a specific plea for the toleration and accommodation of Spain's indigenous "other," the Conversos.

While de la Torre's call for the building of a new Temple may only have been a metaphor, it appears that the idea gained impetus some years later during the construction of Philip II's Escorial palace, which took place between 1563

6 Ibid., p. 33.

and 1580. When the Escorial began to be associated with Solomon's Temple is difficult to say. Certainly, there is no mention of it in royal correspondence on the construction of the palace monastery, and it is unlikely that Philip's advisors would have fervently advocated the comparison in a period directly after the final Council of Trent, when it was made very clear that an interest in the Jewish culture, even the ancient Jewish culture, was to be viewed with suspicion. A clear attempt to associate the Escorial with Solomon's Temple only begins after 1576, when the humanist Benito Arias Montano, a man already attacked for his Judaizing tendencies, was appointed to create a library in the new palace.

Solomon's Palace

Arias Montano arrived at the Escorial, from the Netherlands, under a cloud. A decade previously he had headed the Antwerp Polyglot Bible project, a humanist enterprise that brought together the Biblical texts in Latin, Greek, Aramaic and Hebrew. Philip II had sponsored the Bible, believing that in so doing he was lending his name to an important religious work. However, he was not aware that a number of the work's philological authorities were scholars labelled heretics by Rome; nor did he count on Montano's own predilection for Rabbinic exegesis, something that later offended the Papal committee formed to examine the work's suitability for a Catholic readership. The Polyglot Bible created a furore not only in Rome but also in Spain, where the Spanish theologian Leon de Castro accused Montano of Judaizing, and labelled the work heretical.[7] Castro had already been instrumental in placing three Converso Biblicists in the Inquisition prison cells for their non-conformist interpretations of the Old Testament. One of these men was Arias Montano's friend Luis de Leon. Montano was more fortunate than Leon. He survived Castro's attacks, with the support of some powerful allies, and in 1578 arrived at the Escorial just in time to witness the construction of the royal basilica and library, and actively interfere in their iconography.

In constructing The Escorial, Philip II intended to create a great monument to his religious piety and regal authority, without as far as we know including any overt allusion to King Solomon or his famous edifice. However, by the time the complex was finished in 1588, the palace-monastery had acquired a Solomonic veneer, its royal occupant widely compared to the wise Biblical ruler. This transformation appears to have been initiated by Arias Montano, who

7 For the Polyglot Bible affair, see B. Rekers, *Benito Arias Montano*, London, 1972, pp. 45–69.

FIGURE 7.3 *Kings David and Solomon on the façade of the Escorial basilica.*

soon after his arrival replaced the obelisks that adorned the basilica's façade with six statues of Jewish kings. These were, from left to right, Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah, David, Solomon, Josiah and Manasseh. David and Solomon (fig. 7.3) were obvious allusions to Charles V and Philip II—the former a warrior king, whose bloodied hands precluded him from initiating the holy project; the latter, the prudent, pacific son chosen for the task. The other four rulers were all associated with promoting the Temple cult prior to the building's destruction in 580 BC. Obviously, the implication was that Philip II completed this genealogical line of pious Jews.

Two years after the Jewish kings were added to the Basilica façade, the Italian artist Pelligrino Tibaldi was commissioned to decorate the *sagrario*, or tabernacle, a chamber located directly behind the high altar, acting as a repository for the host. All four of Tibaldi's frescoes represent scenes from the Hebrew Bible. These are: the priest Melchizedek blessing Abraham with bread and wine; the Israelites eating the lamb before the Passover and collecting manna in the wilderness; and Elias receiving bread and water from the angel to sustain him on his journey across the desert to Horeb, the Mount of God.[8] All are scenes which foreshadow the Last Supper and thus are acceptable Catholic iconography. However, they also depict important events in Jewish religion at

8 For the tabernacle frescoes, see Rosemarie Mulcahy, *"A la mayor gloria de Dios y el Rey": La decoración de la Real Basilica del Monasterio de El Escorial*, Madrid, 1992, chapter five. Mulcahy believes that the themes were chosen by Montano.

a time when the Catholic Church was attacking Biblical scholars for too great a focus on the Hebrew culture.

It is believed that Arias Montano was responsible for the Sagrario iconography and for that of The Escorial's library, in which Hebrew Biblical figures represent four of the liberal arts, with Solomon representing arithmetic.[9] It is also likely that the humanist encouraged Philip II and the Escorial's Hieronymite prior to hang "Judgement of Solomon" canvases in their living quarters. Philip's "Judgement" was, significantly, painted by the Dutch painter Pieter Aertsen in 1565, a year before the famous Dutch Iconoclasm.

Evidently Philip II was flattered by the comparison of himself to an Old Testament king renowned for his great wisdom, and thus welcomed the Solomon iconography. Certainly he would have seen the propaganda value of the comparison—a strident allusion to Spain as the New Israel, the nation designated by God to defend His divine, Catholic, will. There is, however, another message contained within the Solomon allusion, one that undermines Catholic religious intransigence, supplanting it with a call for peaceful religious accord. This message was one close to the hearts of Spain's Dutch subjects, who had promoted the Solomon comparison during Philip's visit to the Netherlands thirty years previously. Arias Montano, who had spent the last eight years in the Netherlands, shared this irenic vision. But Montano's Jewish iconography had, I believe, yet another, related, function. It was a forceful reply to orthodox churchmen like Leon de Castro who, in labelling Old Testament scholars Judaizers, were further separating Catholic culture from its Hebrew progenitor and, in so doing, widening the rift between Old Christian and New Christian Spain. Like the Dutch citizens, Montano used Solomon and his Temple as symbols of peace; however, his own irenic message was set against a peculiarly Spanish socio-religious backdrop in which the Conversos were being marginalized as the religious and social "other." In promoting Solomon, Arias Montano was emphasising the importance of the Hebrew culture to the Christian one, and by extension the New Christians' propinquity to their Old Christian neighbors.

Montano must have discussed his Escorial project with friends soon after entering the monastery, for in 1577 an excited Fray Luis de Estrada wrote to him from Alcalá de Henares, suggesting ways of amplifying the Temple imagery:

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9 Arithmetic is represented by Solomon, who solved the puzzle presented to him by the Queen of Sheba; Music by David playing his harp; Astronomy by the infirm King Ezequias, who is cured after moving into the shadow of the sun; Grammar by the tower of Babel and Nebucodonoser's school of grammar in Babylon, where Daniel studied. See Cornelia von der Osten Sacken, *El Escorial: Estudio Iconológico*, Bilbao, 1984.

> I would like to tell you of a great temptation to ask his majesty to construct among the other wonders of the Escorial a room where he can place a model of the Old Testament tabernacle and another of Solomon's Temple . . . This would be the most amazing thing since the time of Solomon itself.[10]

However, Estrada's enthusiasm for the project was tempered somewhat by the thought that it could be construed as Converso subterfuge, wondering out loud if Montano's rival Leon de Castro would point to it as a case of Judaizing: "acaso no teme que dirá su competidor que judaizamos[?]" This possibility may indeed have occurred to Montano, preventing him from following up on his friend's suggestion. However, some years later the Jesuit Juan Bautista Villalpando did present Philip with a scale model of The Temple, contained within a replica of ancient Jerusalem. The gift was accompanied by the Jesuit's literary and graphic study of The Temple, *In Ezechielem Explanatione*, published with the financial aid of the Spanish monarch.[11]

The model Temple presented to Philip by Villalpando was based on the vision of the prophet Ezekiel, in the Old Testament Book of Ezekiel, a work meticulously examined in a three volume study written by Villalpando and his fellow Jesuit Jeronimo de Prado, and published in Rome between 1593 and 1606. Volume One of the work, authored for the most part by Prado, is a careful exegesis of the first 29 chapters of the Book of Ezekiel, in which the prophet communicates to his fellow Babylonian captives God's anger at their sinfulness. It is in retribution for these sins that the Almighty has placed them in captivity, and it is for this reason He will destroy their Temple at Jerusalem. The second volume, written by Villalpando after Prado's death in 1595, focuses on Ezekiel's vision of a future Temple that would serve as proof of God's

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10 ". . . querría comunicar con Vm. una tentacion que he tenido grande; y es que Vm. suplicase a su Magestad que entre otras grandezas que manda hacer en San Lorenzo, hiciese en un aposento un modelo de la fabrica del Tabernáculo del Viejo Testamento, y otro del Templo de Salomón . . . seria la cosa más de vér que se hubiese hecho en el mundo *desde Salomón acá* . . ." "Carta y Discurso del Maestro Fr. Luis de Estrada sobre la aprobación de la Biblia Regia y sus versiones; y juiçio de la que hizo del Nuevo Testamento Benito Arias Montano," in Joseph Rodríguez de Castro, *Biblioteca Española*, t. 1, Madrid, 1781; included in Luis Esteban ed., *IV Centenario de Fray Luis de Estrada*, Soria, 1983, p. 656. Cited in Guy Lazure, "Percepcion of the Temple, Projections of the Divine, Royal Patronage, Biblical Scholarship and Jesuit Imaginary in Spain 1580–1620," in *Calamvs renascens. Revista de humanismo y tradición clásica*, no. 1, 2000, p. 167.

11 *Hieranymi Pradi et Ioannis Baptistae Villalpandi e Societate Iesu in Ezechielem explanationes et Apparatus Urbis, ac Templi Hierosolymitani*, Roma, 1596–1605.

forgivingness and his continuing love for his chosen people. Here Villalpando not only expatiates on the Ezekiel text, he also provides an elaborate series of graphics, visualizing a magnificent edifice which he claims was also a replica of Solomon's original Temple. These views, he admitted, ran counter to those of most Catholic scholars, who saw Ezekiel's vision as a mystical representation of the Church of Christ. While Villalpando shared this opinion, he nevertheless also believed that God wished to make reference to a perfect place that had already existed in the Jewish culture, one that represented His timeless message of universal peace.[12] Having thus located Ezekiel's Temple firmly in Jewish antiquity, Villalpando devoted Volume Three of the work, the *Apparatus*, to a background study of the ancient Jewish culture itself, as Arias Montano had done previously in his *Apparatus* for the Antwerp Bible.

Patronized by Philip II and closely linked to the Escorial, which Villalpando was careful to liken to the Temple, it is usually assumed that the *Explanationes* was yet another Counter-Reformation exercise in glorifying Catholic Spain and its monarch. However, it is also clear that its focus on Old Testament culture was not at all in keeping with a Counter-Reformation Church, which preferred to emphasize the allegorical Christian message of the Old Testament, without celebrating Jewish achievements. Again I would suggest that Philip's Escorial project was being exploited by Hebraists to champion the ancient Jewish culture within a society that was bent on dismissing it as largely inimical and irrelevant.

Although we know little about the backgrounds of Juan Bautista de Villalpando (1552–1608) and Jeronimo de Prado (1547–1593), what we do know suggests that both were New Christians. First, both were members of Andalusian Jesuit colleges—Córdoba and Baeza—renowned for their Converso membership. The elder of the two men, Jeronimo de Prado, was born and raised in Baeza, where he taught scripture at the university founded by the Converso reformer Juan de Avila, an institution constantly under attack from the Córdoba Inquisition officials suspicious of its New Christian faculty.[13] After Avila's death in 1569, many of the *maestro's* disciples entered the Society

12 Juan Antonio Ramirez ed., *El Templo de Salomón según Juan Bautista Villalpando. Comentarios de la profecía de Ezekiel*, vol II libro I, cap. 10 p. 41. This is a Spanish translation of the second volume of *In Ezechielem*.

13 According to the *Diccionario Histórico de la Compañia de Jesús: Biografíco-Tematico* IV, p. 3212, Prado taught scripture at the Universisty of Baeza in 1570, and continued teaching in that institution after he joined the Jesuits in 1572. For the attack on the Baeza University faculty, see Alvaro Huerga, *Historia de los Alumbrados*, II, pp. 175–201 and Juan de Avila, *Obras completas*, I, pp. 44 and 343–56.

of Jesus, attracted to the order by its emphasis on humanist education as well as its refusal to implement *limpieza de sangre* examinations. Prado himself joined the newly founded Baeza Jesuit college in 1572, while continuing to teach scripture at the university. Two years later Juan Bautista Villalpando entered the Jesuits' Córdoba college, meeting and forming a friendship with Prado soon after.

Juan Bautista Villalpando (1552–1608) was a native of Córdoba, although his surname indicates that his ancestors were from the town of Villalpando near Zamora. Like Zamora, Villalpando was home to an important Jewish *aljama* up to the Jewish expulsion in 1492, and the surname, like that of Zamora, is a strong indication of Sephardic ancestry. Of Villalpando's own ancestors we have no information, although one biographer states that his father was a physician.[14] If this is so, it would further suggest a Converso background, as well as explaining Villalpando's own interest in astrology, an interest shared by architects and physicians. Of his education, an early biographical source states that his original intention was to study Arts at Alcalá de Henares, before a chance encounter with the architect Juan de Herrera in Madrid led to a change of focus.[15] It was while working as an assistant to Herrera, who from 1572 onwards was the chief architect of the Escorial, that Villalpando became acquainted with Philip II's great architectural project. When Villalpando later joined the Jesuits he took his architectural skills with him, executing building projects for the order in Córdoba, Seville and Baeza, while pursuing his studies in Hebrew and Theology.

In 1572, two years before Villalpando entered the Córdoba Jesuit College, the rector had written to the Jesuit General Francisco de Borja complaining that while his institution had an enrolment of 600 students, many of whom were from wealthy families, most entered for a humanist education alone, rather than with a view to pursuing a religious career. All the boys with a religious vocation entered the Dominican college, which they stated was an institution for gentlemen, while the Jesuit college was only for Jews.[16] The characterization of the Jesuits as a Jewish order had been present almost since the Society's inception, leading Old Christian members to call for *limpieza* legislation. This

14 Obras de José de la Torre y del Cerro [BNM 3/156363 v.1] cited in Juan Ramirez et al., p. 160.

15 The circumstances of Villalpando's meeting with Herrera were described by the physician Andrés de Morales y Padilla in his *Historia general de la muy leal ciudad de Córdoba y de sus nobilisimas familias*, (1604), cited in Juan Antonio Ramirez, René Taylor, André Corboz, Robert Jan Van Pelt and Antonio Martínez Ripoll eds, *Dios Arquitecto: Juan Bautista Villalpando y el Templo de salomón*, Madrid, 1991, p. 345.

16 ARSI, cod. Epist. Hisp. XVIII, fol. 314, cited from John W. O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, p. 190.

was enacted at the General Congregation of 1593, the year Villalpando's and Prado's Ezekiel study received a papal licence.[17]

Villalpando's and Prado's three volume work on Solomon's Temple was written against a background of increasing tension within the Jesuits, a situation that reflected the antagonism in Counter-Reformation Spain between Old and New Christians. Reacting to this deepening anti-Converso mood, a number of prominent Converso Jesuits wrote in defence of the New Christian contribution to their order and to Christian culture in general. In his *memoria* of 1593, the Italian Jesuit Antonio Possevino noted that the first Converso Jesuits were renowned for their intellectual contribution to the order and dedication to advancing the Jesuit message abroad. In this respect, he wrote, they were like the first Jewish Christians, who advanced Jesus' message. Indeed, Jewish converts to Christianity had made major contributions to the religion throughout the ages and up to the present time. The Spanish Conversos, for example, had been instrumental in taking the Christian message to the New World as well as "repairing" the faith in the Old one.[18]

While Possevino emphasized the Jews' contribution to Christian culture, his Spanish counterpart Juan de Mariana noted their influence on Spanish civilization. In his history of Spain, published in 1593, Mariana presented Túbal, the nephew of Noah, as the original colonizer of the peninsula. He also noted, vaguely citing "Jewish books," that many of Spain's early urban settlements, including Toledo, were founded by Jews who had fled Judah at the time of the Babylonian captivity.[19] Taking the Jewish contribution to Spanish culture many steps further, the Toledo Jesuit Jerónimo Román de la Higuera stated

17 For the division among the Jesuits with regard to *limpieza de sangre* legislation in the last decades of the sixteenth century, see Robert A. Maryks, *The Jesuits as a synagogue of Jews: Jesuits of Jewish ancestry and purity of blood laws in the early society of Jesus*, Leiden, 2010, chapters three and four.

18 Ibid., p. 177.

19 Haim Beinart, "¿Cuando llegaron los Judios a España?" *Estudios*, 3, Inst. Central de Relaciones Culturales Israel-Iberoamerica, España y Portugal, 1962, pp. 5–18. In his work *De rege et regis institutione*, Mariana also compared the Escorial with Solomon's Temple, noting that the four Hebrew kings whose statues adorned the basilica facade were renowned for their piety and good works. In the same work, Mariana stated that the king had a duty to make all his subjects as happy as possible, recommending regicide for certain acts of misrule. See Juan Rafael de la Cuadro Blanco, "El Escorial como nuevo templo de Salomón en la literatura de los siglos XVI y XVII," in *La Ciudad de Dios* vol. CCXIII, num. 2 (mayo–agosto 2000), p. 458. For Mariana's New Christian roots, see Juan Blázquez Miguel, *Herejia y heterodoxia en Talavera y su Antigua tierra*, Talavera de la Reina, 1989, pp. 206–208.

that the Jews were an important presence on the Iberian peninsula as early as Solomon's reign, establishing communities in Toledo, Sagunto and Numancia (all three of which were emblems of Spanish national pride). According to Higuera these communities were augmented by other Jews entering the peninsula during the Babylonian Captivity. Thus substantial numbers of Jews had entered Iberia before the death of Christ; a different type of Jew, Higuera noted, to the ones guilty of crucifying the Messiah. In fact, Higuera stated, the Jewish communities of Toledo and Zamora had written a letter to their counterparts in Jerusalem at the time of the Crucifixion, opposing the sentence. Finally, Higuera noted that after the death of Christ five hundred of His early Jewish followers had left Jerusalem, eventually making their way to Iberia, where they took the Christian message to the Sephardic communities. And so it would seem that the first converts to Christianity on the peninsula were Sephardic Jews. Higuera's source for all this information on the Sephardim was the eleventh century writer Julian Pérez, whose chronicle, fortuitously discovered by Higuera in Toledo, was based on ancient letters unearthed in the city's Santa Justa church. In fact the chronicle was a fake, invented by Higuera himself in order to advance his own particular, Jewish, vision of Spanish history.[20]

Like Mariano and Higuera, Juan Bautista Villalpando also presented the Jews as early colonizers of Spain. In the second volume of the *Explanationes*, published in 1605, he noted that the tomb of one of Solomon's tax collectors had recently been discovered in Sagunto, testimony to a large and thriving Sephardic colony a thousand years before the birth of Christ.[21] According to Villalpando, the early Jewish diaspora community, inspired by God to disseminate his message, was much greater than modern society was aware; certainly

20 See Juan Gil, "Judios y Conversos en los falsos cronicones," in *Iberica*, number 14, 2003, pp. 21–43.

21 Juan Antonio Ramirez ed., *El Templo de Salomón según Juan Bautista Villalpando. Comentarios de la profecía de Ezekiel*, vol. II, libro V, cap. LVIII, p. 463. "Sagunto fue también una ciudad floreciente antes del reinado de Salomón, el rey más sabio, y en esta ciudad se encontro en el año 1480 d.C un sepulcro de piedra, cerca de la puerta de la fortaleza de Sagunto. Adonirán, legado de Salomón, murió en esta ciudad, donde previamente había ordenado que le enterraran en un sepulcro de piedra. Así pues, en las grafías de su epitafio se leían estas palabras en caracteres hebreos, que pueden traducirse del siguiente modo: 'Este es el sepulcro de Adoniram, ministro del rey Salomón que vino para recaudar el tributo y que murió en ese día.' Lamentablement esta fecha ha quedado totalmente borrada y es imposible conocerla, debido al daño que ha sufrido la piedra por su antigüedad." Villalpando noted that he was not personally able to find the head stone on his visit to Sagunto.

as large as the Jewish population of the Holy Land, which he reckoned to be well over six million. Of this community Villalpando wrote praisingly:

> [T]he Promised Land [Israel] was in one sense an immense seedbed for the whole World; thousands and thousands of Hebrews dispersed throughout all the regions; and this occurred because of a divine plan. In those times the Hebrews were sincere in their belief in God, maintaining and teaching their religion: they were God's heirs, the chosen people; all the other nations walked far from the true faith, walking dangerously along inaccessible paths, along the abrupt precipices of the Gentiles, following un-confessable superstitions, immersed in total ignorance of the divine and wrapped up in a dense fog of idolatry; falling down and losing their way. Thus Divine Providence willed that the Hebrews sowed their good seed and disseminated across three quarters of the globe, in each of the regions of these three parts, in each of their cities, their fortresses, villages and countryside; like a yeast that spoilt all the Gentile dough with the aim of creating a bread that could be presented at the divine table. For their part, the Gentiles brought forth no fruit, or a very small one; *this is precisely what the Gentiles will be reproached with at the solemn day of Judgement, and they will not be able to present excuses for their ignorance* [*Rom. 1,21*] (my italics).[22]

It was as a result of the size and scope of ancient Israel and its colonies—in Villalpando's view rivalling the modern Spanish Empire—that Solomon was able to build the grandiose edifice described by Ezekiel in his vision. Indeed the Jesuit tells us that the Temple was another wonder of the ancient world, a magnificent, perfect, creation through which God introduced many important principles of architecture. These included the Corinthian order, erroneously attributed by Vitruvius to the Greeks, who substituted their own symbol of peace, the olive leaf, for a Jewish palm frond on the capitol.[23]

Villalpando's elaborate study of Solomon's Temple may have been a tribute to Philip II as a wise and prudent king and Spain as God's chosen realm; but it was also a celebration of the ancient Jewish culture and its continuing relevance to a modern Catholic one. Like Arias Montano's Jewish iconography, Villalpando's work subtly championed religious synergism in a period

22 Juan Antonio Ramirez ed., *El Templo de Salomón según Juan Bautista Villalpando. Comentarios de la profecía de Ezekiel*, vol. II, libro V, cap. LVIII, p. 463. My translation.

23 Vaughn Hart, *Art and Magic in the Courts of the Stuarts*, London, 1994, p. 71. In chapter three, Hart examines the influence of Villalpando's work on James I's court.

of growing hostility towards New Christians in Spain. In this respect, both Montano's and Villalpando's Temple projects bear comparison with the much more audacious Granada Lead Books fraud, carried out by, among others, the Moriscos Alonso de Castillo and Miguel de Luna. Significantly, both Castillo and Luna had spent the 1580s as Arabic translators at the Escorial Library, where they were able to observe at close quarters Philip II's susceptibility for Solomon imagery, something they were careful to incorporate into their own integrationist project.

The Granada Lead Books Fraud

The Granada Lead Books affair began in the 1590s, when a series of bound lead discs were found on the city's Valparaiso hill, inscribed with Arabic script. Unable to decipher the text, the Old Christian authorities called upon the Morisco translators Miguel de Luna and Alfonso de Castillo, who had recently returned from the Escorial, for help. The translation was made very difficult, both men noted, by the strange Arabic letters, which they called "Solomonic," a term they coined to convey the writings' great antiquity, well before the time of the Arabs' conversion to Islam. Although the Arabic was cryptic, the two men were able to decode it, revealing the following story.

In the first century, soon after the death of Christ, the Virgin Mary sent Saint James and six companions, including the Arabs Sā'īs al-Āya ibn al-Radī (Latinized to Cecilius) and Tis'ūn b. 'Attār, (Thesifon), on an evangelizing mission to Iberia (Hispania). As part of this venture they took with them a prophesy revealed to the Virgin by the Angel Gabriel, known as "The Certainty of the Gospel," which declared, among other things, that God had chosen the Arabic language "to exalt His holy law, His sacred gospel and His holy church at the end of Time."[24] The group was ordered to bury Mary's gospel in a holy place that would be revealed to them by an apparition of a dead man. They were then to continue on their evangelical mission, remaining on the peninsula until they had converted at least one person to Christianity. Unfortunately, the pagan Romano-Iberians were unmoved by the Good News. It was not until the group reached Cordóba on their return from Galicia that they gained their first convert, an Arab named Aben Almogueira, who then accompanied them back

24 Cited in Mercedes García-Arenal, "The Religious Identity of the Arabic Language and the Affair of the Lead Books of the Sacromonte de Granada," *Arabica* 56 (2009) pp. 495–528 (p. 497).

to Granada.[25] It was here that the Arab Cecilius, now recognized as the city's bishop, was martyred in Nero's anti-Christian pogrom.

A shamefully patent advertisement for Arab pre-eminence within early Christianity, it seems inconceivable that the Lead Books could have gained support among Granada's Old Christian community. However, the authors of the books were not only promoting the Arab (Morisco) community; they were also celebrating Granada as the site of Spain's first Christian church, something that had an enormous appeal for all sections of the city's Old Christian population. The books also contained other revelations that were likely to appeal to Spanish Catholics, among which was the Virgin's affirmation that she was indeed immaculately conceived, thus supporting Spain's Marianists in their campaign to have the belief dogmatized. There were also concessions to the Catholic Church's obsession with reliquary, the fraudsters having placed pieces of bone and ashes in the area where the books were located, which the books themselves revealed to be the remains of Spain's first Christian martyrs. Significantly, the authors avoided mention of the Trinity, and were careful to describe Jesus not as the son of God, but as the spirit of God; nevertheless, there was a lot here that was guaranteed for appeal to Granada's Old Christian community, and encourage it to accept some less palatable philo-Morisco elements.

Not everyone in Granada was convinced of the Books' authenticity, however. The chronicler Luis del Mármol Carvajal even suggested that the Bishop, Pedro de Castro, investigate the translators themselves.[26] Castro did not heed the suggestion, even though Miguel de Luna had recently published a philo-Muslim work based on a document that he claimed he had discovered in the Escorial library. The work, *La verdera historia del rey Rodrigo*, was a translation, according to Luna, of an eighth-century manuscript written by an Arab eye witness to the Islamic conquest of Spain, which presented the Muslim conquerors as wise and able rulers who encouraged cultural and ethnic mixing, a policy that led to socio-religious integration and peace throughout al-Andalus.[27]

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25 The story is outlined in Manuel Sotomayor, "Los fundamentos historico-eclesiasticos del Sacromonte: de Santiago y sus varones apostólicos a los hallazgos de valparaíso," in Manuel Barrios Aguilera and Mercedes García-Arenal eds., *¿La historia inventada?* pp. 29–43.

26 Mercedes Garcia-Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, "Miguel de Luna, Cristiano Arábigo de Granada," in Manuel Barrios Aguilera and Mercedes García-Arenal eds., *¿La historia inventada?* p. 85.

27 For a comparison of Luna's false chronicle with those of Roman de la Higuera, see Mercedes Garcia-Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, "Jerónimo de la Higuera and

Although Luna's *La verdadera historia de Don Rodrigo* should have given Bishop Castro pause for thought, he was already too captivated by the Lead Books' magic to reflect on the credibility of their translator. He was, however, persuaded by others in the Cathedral to have the Books scrutinized by outside experts. Ironically, the first of these learned adjudicators was Arias Montano, who soon pronounced them forgeries. The Arabic script was not one he had ever contemplated in either an ancient or modern document, he stated, and the works contained important terminological anachronisms and errors of historical fact.

Montano did not offer an opinion on the real authors of the books or their motives; however, there can be little doubt that he saw the works for what they were: an attempt by the now much reduced Morisco community of Granada to ingratiate itself with the Old Christian authorities. He may even have been somewhat sympathetic to their goals; he was, after all, engaged in a similar attempt to integrate the Conversos into an Old Christian dominated Spanish culture. The difference, of course, was that he did not forge documents to advance his cause. As a humanist attempting to separate myth and superstition from Christian practice, he would have found this anathema. He would also have noted that in advancing their own cause, the Moriscos had prejudiced that of the *judeoconverso*, whose Jewish ancestors were eclipsed by the Arab converts in the Lead Books' evangelical narrative. Montano expressed none of these concerns publicly, although he undoubtedly discussed them with his friend and amanuensis, the humanist Pedro de Valencia, who later penned a more hostile attack on the Books in which he emphasized the forgeries' detrimental effect on the Judeo-Christian tradition.[28]

Ironically, Benito Arias Montano, the man called upon by Bishop Castro to assess the Lead Books find in 1593, was himself a clandestine dissident who had been working for much of his professional life on transforming Spain's socio-

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the Lead Books of Granada," in Kevin Ingram ed., *The Conversos and Moriscos in Late Medieval Spain and Beyond*, vol. I, pp. 243–269.

28 Unsurprisingly, Bishop Castro did not request Montano's expert advice further, preferring to count on scholars who could be relied upon to deliver a positive verdict on the Lead Books' authenticity. By carefully choosing his collaborators, while vigorously resisting the call for the documents to be sent to Rome, Castro was able to protect the find and promote its validity up until his death in 1624. Thereafter the Lead Books were dispatched to the Holy See, where, after decades of deliberation, they were ruled as fraudulent by the Papacy in 1682; although this verdict hardly diminished their stature in Granada itself, or that of their supposed Arab author Cecilius, who became and has remained the unofficial patron saint of the city. For Pedro de Valencia's views on the Lead Bo . . . ," "El discurso de Pedro de Valencia sobre el pergamino y laminas de Granada," edited by Hopólito B. Riesco Álvarez in Pedro de Valencia, *Obras completas* IV/2, pp. 429–455.

religious mores. Latterly this secret campaign had taken place at Philip II's showcase palace at The Escorial, which Montano identified as an important center for reform. We have already seen how the humanist changed the palace iconography to present a message of religious peace and concordance. However, Montano did not stop there. He also focused his attention on The Escorial's community of Hieronymite monks, sewing a reform message within the community based on his own religious views and those of his Familist friends in the Netherlands. The objective, it seems, was to influence a religious group close to the King, who would in turn promote evangelical reform within the palace.

Unfortunately, one of Montano's Hieronymite disciples, Fr. Jose de Sigüenza was unable to contain his enthusiasm for this "good news," with the result that he found himself the subject of an Inquisition inquiry. In the course of the 1592 trial, Sigüenza made the following statements: "Give me Arias Montano and the Bible, and I have no need for other books"; "in order to understand Holy Scripture we should not follow the saints but the Hebrew texts, paying no attention to the views of the saints or scholastic theology"; "many barbarians and pagans, Turks and Muslims, even without knowledge of our faith, are saved only by believing in one god and following natural law"; and "My advice is to forget devotional works, just read the evangelists and commend yourself to God, and He will enlighten you."[29]

Despite the fact that Sigüenza's prosecutors had called for a death sentence for these and other suspect views, the friar managed to escape his ordeal with nothing more serious than a short term of imprisonment. This sentence must certainly have come as a surprise to Arias Montano, who had left the Escorial for Seville at the beginning of the trial, undoubtedly escaping what he believed to be his own imminent incarceration. In Seville, at least, he was surrounded by his family and intimate friends. However, he could not escape his reputation as a man of Jewish origins and non-conformist attitudes. This would follow him to his death, which occurred on 6 July 1598, two months before that of Philip II.

As for Philip's reputation as a new Solomon or prudent king, this continued up to and beyond his death, although the sobriquet did not impel him towards more tolerant or even practical statecraft. It is significant that his war with the Dutch Calvinists continued unabated during his lifetime, only being suspended by his son in 1609, when the Crown was bankrupt. Significantly, the peace treaty with the Dutch was signed on 9 April, the day Philip III signed a much more momentous document: the order expelling the Moriscos from Spain.

29 B. Rekers, *Benito Arias Montano*, p. 160.

CHAPTER 8

The Granada Lead Books Translator Miguel de Luna as a Model for Both the Toledan Morisco Translator and the Arab Historian Cidi Hamete Benengeli in Cervantes' *Don Quixote*

Gerard Wiegers

Introduction

Quite a number of researchers have noted connections between the famous novel of Cervantes and the Granadan Lead Books affair, and have discussed possible references in the Quixote to the involvement of the Granadan Morisco translator Miguel de Luna (c. 1550–1615) in this famous affair. In 1974, L.P. Harvey devoted his inaugural lecture in the Cervantes chair at King's College London to arguing that such a connection existed. Harvey argued that it is probable that in making use of the narrative device of Cidi Hamete Benengeli, the famous alleged Arab author of the Quixote, Cervantes was "holding up to the ridicule of his readers the absurdities being passed off as historical scriptural fact by Luna and others in the city of Granada."[1] The frame story of Don Quixote, he argues, "assumes the form which it possesses because of the Morisco impostures perpetrated in Granada in the 1590's and for no other reason."[2] Harvey showed that Cervantes visited Granada in 1594, and would have known about the events.[3] García-Arenal and Rodriguez Mediano conclude in their recent

* Revised text of an invited lecture given at the University of Colorado at Boulder, Department of Spanish and Portuguese on 17 November 2011. I am grateful to students and staff, especially Professor Julio Baena, for their valuable comments, and to Dr. Brian Catlos (Department of Religious Studies) for inviting me to Boulder. I also wish to thank Professor Pat Harvey and Dr. Kevin Ingram for their valuable comments on a draft version of this essay. The present contribution could not have been written without the generous help of Juan Sánchez Ocaña, keeper of the Archive of the Sacromonte Abbey (Granada) and my colleagues María Luisa García Valverde, Antonio López Carmona of the University of Granada.

1 Leonard Patrick Harvey, *The Moriscos and Don Quixote*. Inaugural Lecture in the Chair of Spanish delivered at University of London King's College, London 1974, p. 15.

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid., p. 14.

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valuable study on the Moriscos and the Sacromonte forgeries that "it is as if Cervantes is speaking about Miguel de Luna."[4] Below I will argue that new evidence and a re-reading of the sources (including one of the original lead tablets—for the first time since the seventeenth century) make it highly probable that Miguel de Luna indeed was the historical model Cervantes had in mind when writing about the unnamed Romance-speaking Morisco, whom the first-person narrator meets at the Alcaná in Toledo and—indirectly—of the Noble Arab Moor Cidi Hamete.[5] I will start with the results of recent research into the Lead Books on the basis of the original texts, then discuss Luna, and finally present my arguments for this identification.

The Parchment of the Torre Turpiana and the Lead Books in Light of Recent Studies

The public story of the Lead Books began in the year 1588 with an old tower that was being demolished in the city of Granada. The tower, once probably the minaret of the Friday mosque, had to make way for the building of the new cathedral, which still stands there today. During the demolition, workmen stumbled on a small chest in the rubble. Inside the chest were some bones, part of a veil, and a parchment containing a prophecy. The authorship of the prophecy, written in Spanish, was attributed in the subscript to St John. This subscript was written in Latin with Gothic letters. The accompanying texts in Arabic and Latin could be traced to a group of Christians who, the claim was made, had lived in Granada in the first century. Among the group was a bishop called Cecilius, whose name was mentioned on the parchment in Arabic script. The veil was purported to have belonged to the Blessed Virgin.[6]

4 Mercedes García-Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, *Un Oriente español. Los moriscos y el Sacromonte en Tiempo de Contrarreforma*, Madrid, 2010, p. 196.

5 See, for example, Julio Baena, "Modos del hacedor de nombres cervantino: El significado de "Cide Hamete Benengeli," *Indiana Journal of Hispanic Studies* 2 (1994), pp. 49–61; Tomas Case, "Cide Hamete Benengeli y los *Libros plúmbeos*," *Cervantes. Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America*, 22.2, (2002), pp. 9–24; Luce López Baralt, "The Supreme pen (al-Qalam al-a'lā) of Cide Hamete Benengeli in *Don Quixote*," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 30.3, (2000), pp. 505–518; Devin Stewart, "Cide Hamete Benengeli, Narrator of Don Quixote," *Medieval Encounters*, 3 (1997), pp. 111–127.

6 See, among other studies, Pieter Sjoerd van Koningsveld and Gerard Albert Wiegers, "The Parchment of the 'Torre Turpiana.' The Original Document and its Early Interpreters," *Al-Qantara* XXIV, 2 (2003), pp. 327–358; García-Arenal and Rodriguez Mediano, *Un Oriente español*, pp. 24–31; Isabel Boyano Guerra: "En busca del original a través de la traducción:

The Turpiana parchment created enormous excitement in Granada. To understand the scope of this joy, it must be recalled that the city did not possess any relics.[7] This discovery would amply compensate for this absence. But soon this enthusiasm was tempered by skepticism and repudiation. Critics, who included the famous Spanish scholar Benito Arias Montano (1527–1598), pointed out that it was impossible for the parchment to be genuine, for, among other reasons, in the first century Spanish had not yet evolved as a literary and spoken language.[8]

From the year 1595 onwards, seven years after the discovery in the ancient tower, a series of lead plaques with Arabic and Latin texts were found in caves in a hillock just outside Granada. These plaques were also accompanied by ashes and bones which were purported to be the remains of Christians who had been burned there as martyrs under the Roman emperor Nero. The texts, which contained prayers, acts of Jesus and the Apostles, and prophecies were all said to be written by two brothers from Arabia, Sā'is al-Āya ibn al-Radī (whose Latin name was Cecilius) and Tis'ūn b. 'Attār, (Thesifon).[9] One of the Lead Books mentions that Jesus had cured both brothers in a miraculous way.[10] The brothers journeyed to Spain in the company of the Apostle James,

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De nuevo sobre el pergamino," in Maria Julieta Vega Garcia-Ferrer, Maria Luisa Garcia Valverde, Antonio Lopez Carmona, Granada eds., *Nuevas aportaciones al conocimiento y estudio del Sacro Monte. IV Centenario Fundacional (1610–2010),* Granada 2011, pp. 121–141; Pieter Sjoerd van Koningsveld, "Le parchemin et les livres de plomb de Grenade: Ecriture, langue et origine d'une falsification," in Maria Julieta Vega Garcia-Ferrer, Maria Luisa Garcia Valverde, Antonio Lopez Carmona eds., *Nuevas aportaciones al conocimiento y estudio del Sacro Monte. IV Centenario Fundacional (1610–2010)*, Granada 2011, pp. 173–196; Pieter Sjoerd van Koningsveld and Gerard Albert Wiegers, "Five documents illustrating the early activities of Miguel de Luna and Alonso del Castillo in deciphering and translating the Arabic passages of the Parchment found in the Torre Turpiana in Granada," in ibid., pp. 215–258.

7 There existed an ancient tradition about seven men, the so-called *Siete varones*, who had allegedly been sent by Saint Peter to the Iberian Peninsula to spread the Gospel, and included in their number a certain Cecilius, see Francisco Javier Martínez Medina, Los libros plúmbeos del Sacromonte de Granada, in Francisco Javier Martínez Medina ed., *Jesucristo y el emperador Cristiano*, Córdoba, 2000, pp. 619–643, (p. 631).

8 See García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *Un Oriente español*, pp. 32–33.

9 They are described as the sons of the Arab Sālih, who was a descendant of the prophet of the same name who is mentioned in the Qur'an, e.g. Sura 7:73–79, 11:61–68, 26:141–159, and 27:45–53, and see Miguel José Hagerty, *Los Libros Plúmbeos del Sacromonte*, Granada, 1998 (original edition 1980), p. 95. According to the Qur'an, Sālih was sent to the people called Thamūd.

10 See Hagerty, *Los libros*, pp. 95–123.

and there they settled with their company in the vicinity of a holy mountain. The books were hidden here, and, as they prophesied, would only come to light at the End of Time, when the one true message of the gospel would be in the gravest of danger. At that time a priest would come forward with the books and present them at a great gathering, at which Arabs would also be present.[11] Here a decision would be made and woe to those who would not accept these Arabic books. One of the books was called *The Essence of the Gospel* (Arabic: haqīqat al-indjīl). This book was said to have been revealed to the Virgin Mary by the Archangel Gabriel. During the great gathering a humble person of Arab origin would explain the meaning of this book. After he had done so, the whole world would convert to the true belief, and the End of Time would be nigh. *The Essence of the Gospel* is a Lead Book of sixteen leaves, which, apart from one leaf, nobody has been able to decipher and has therefore been referred to as the mute book ("libro mudo").[12]

With regard to the contents of the Lead Books, there are three theories: the first is that the books were Christian documents, the second that they were Islamic, and the third that they present some sort of syncretic ideas, and attempt to find a middle way between Christianity and Islam. I believe, however, that an analysis of the Arabic texts shows that the Lead Books present us with an Islamic polemic against Christianity and Judaism. The Parchment and the Books tell a story about Jesus' teachings and life, but do not refer to him as

11 A king who was himself not an Arab but who ruled over Arabs would act as the great protector of the books. This prophetic utterance was generally assumed to be a reference to the Ottoman Sultan, who might validly be said to be a non-Arab who ruled over large areas of the Middle East. These data can be found in the Lead Books entitled *Kitāb mawāhib al thawāb li 'ibād allāh al-mu'minīn fi haqīqat al-indjīl*, which al-Hadjarī quoted on the basis of a transcription of the translator, al-Ukayhil (probably Alonso del Castillo), which he found in Tunis when he arrived there in 1637; see Ahmad b. Qâsim al-Hadjarī, *Kitāb nāsir al-dīn 'alā l-qawm al-kāfirīn* (*The Supporter of Religion against the Infidels*). *Historical study, critical edition and annotated translation by Qasim al-Samarrai, Pieter Sjoerd van Koningsveld and Gerard Wiegers*, Madrid, 1997 [Fuentes Arábico-Hispanas, 21], translation, pp. 248–261; Arabic text, pp. 193–206. In L.P. Harvey, *The Literary Culture of the Moriscos 1492–1609. A Study based on the extant Manuscripts in Arabic and Aljamía*, D. Phil. Dissertation Oxford, n.p., 1959, I, 245–61, and II, pp. 161–83, one finds a translation of the same book and an edition based on the British Museum manuscript Harley 3507. This manuscript contains a transcription which was made by Bartolemeo de Pettorano at the behest of the Vatican.

12 That leaf was read and understood by the Morisco al-Hadjarī in his *Nāsir al-dīn*, see translation, p. 85, Arabic text, p. 29.

Saviour. Instead, they present us with a Mun'am, the Blessed One, the Saviour,[13] to be disclosed at the end of time, during a great gathering to be held in Cyprus. A study by Pieter Sjoerd van Koningsveld and myself, the first to have been undertaken since the seventeenth century on the basis of the original documents, has shown that the books are deeply colored by Qur'anic lore, making it clear that the promised savior is no other than Muhammad.[14] Our recent research also shows that the Parchment discovered in 1588 and the Lead Books were written by one and the same author. The same notions appear in both works, and the same historical notions about eschatological events underlie them. Moreover, our studies of the Parchment and the subsequent interpretations of these documents indicate that the Granadan doctor Miguel de Luna was one of the main forgers. Our studies show that the parchment is written in an Arabic script that can be characterized as "fantastic," i.e. written with letter forms without diacritics that, moreover, seem to be designed to give the writing an ancient impression. For this reason these parts could only be interpreted by someone with prior knowledge of the contents.[15] On the basis of his early extant interpretations, we were able to show that Luna, unlike the other Moriscos involved in the early stages of the interpretation process, such as Alonso del Castillo, must have had intimate knowledge of the fraud.

Miguel de Luna (c. 1550–1615)

Miguel de Luna was born in a Morisco family in Granada in about 1550. His family originated in the city Baeza and was of noble lineage, maybe because their forefathers had converted to Christianity before the general forced con-

13 See Pieter Sjoerd van Koningsveld and Gerard Albert Wiegers, "The Book of the Enormous Mysteries that James the Apostle Saw on the Sacred Mountain for the Great Gathering, Written at his Order by Cecilio, his Disciple—Lead Book Number 22 in the Sacromonte Archive, Granada, Arabic text and English translation with notes," in Maria Julieta Vega Garcia-Ferrer, Maria Luisa Garcia Valverde, Antonio Lopez Carmona eds., *Nuevas aportaciones*, op. cit., pp. 259–272, p. 263.

14 See especially, Gerard Albert Wiegers, "El contenido de los textos árabes de los Plomos: *El Libro de los misterios enormes* (*Kitāb al-asrār al-ʿazīma*) como polémica islámica anticristiana y antijudía," in ibid., pp. 197–214, and Van Koningsveld and Wiegers, "The Book of the Enormous Mysteries," in the same volume.

15 See Van Koningsveld, "Le parchemin"; Van Koningsveld and Wiegers, "Five Documents"; Wiegers, "El Contenido" and Van Koningsveld and Wiegers, "The Book of Enormous Mysteries."

versions.[16] This means that the family was seen as belonging to the category of so-called "Old Moriscos" (*moriscos antiguos*). For that reason, they were probably exempted from being expelled from Granada after the Granadan Morisco uprising between 1568 and 1571. Luna studied medicine at the University of Granada, and lived in that city as a practicing doctor. He married an Old Christian woman, whose name was Maria de Veraztegui, and had at least two sons, Alonso and Juanico. He often presented himself as an Arabic Christian ("*cristiano arábigo*"), but we know very little about him before the discovery of the Parchment and the Lead Books.[17] In March 1588 we find him occupied with the translation of the Parchment of the Torre Turpiana. In the oldest extant transcriptions and translations of that document, Luna is mentioned as a doctor and an interpreter of the Arabic language.[18] In 1595 he still signs documents as an Arabic interpreter. In 1596 he seems to have been promoted and signs as interpreter of His Majesty the King ("*interprete de su magestad*").[19] It seems very likely that he earned this prestigious appointment as a result of his efforts to translate the Parchment and the Lead Books.

In 1592 Luna wrote a medical treatise called the *Tratado de los baños* (*Treatise on baths*), and in the same year published the first part of *Historia Verdadera del Rey don Rodrigo* (*The True History of King Don Rodrigo*). He had completed the writing in 1589, one year after the parchment had been found. A second part would follow. The book appeared to be very successful. Luna allegedly translated the work from an Arabic manuscript in the library of El Escorial, written in the first person by the wise (*sabio*) alcayde Abulcasim Tarif Abentarique, of the Arab nation [de nacion árabe]. Luna presented this figure as an eye-witness to the conquest by the Arabs of Spain and the establishment of Muslim rule. Unlike the received historical accounts of these events known in Spain at the time, the Arab rulers are presented in this work as evenhanded and mild towards all their subjects, Muslims and non-Muslims alike. Modern historians have rightly argued that the goal of this work was to show that,

16 Mercedes García-Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, "Médico, traductor, inventor: Miguel de Luna, Cristiano Arábigo de Granada," *Chronica Nova* 32 (2006), pp. 187–231; García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *Un Oriente*, p. 165ff; Luis Fernando Bernabé Pons, "Estudio preliminar," in Miguel de Luna, *Historia Verdadera del Rey Don Rodrigo*, edición facsimile, Granada, 2001, pp. vii–lxx.

17 García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *Un Oriente*, p. 166.

18 Van Koningsveld and Wiegers, "Five Documents," p. 219 (Archive of the Sacromonte, Granada, Leg VIII, f. 405r).

19 Van Koningsveld and Wiegers, "Five documents," p. 247 (Archive of the Sacromonte, Granada, leg. V, f. 142r., dated 28 July 1596).

since Muslim rule had presented no threat to Christian subjects, and rulers had respected the Christians minorities, Moriscos, who had always been good and loyal subjects of the Spanish King, even though they had different cultural habits and sometimes spoke the Arabic language, deserved to be treated well by the Spanish authorities.[20] Luna presents himself as the interpreter of this eye-witness report, but was unmasked as a forger in the nineteenth century. We may suspect, however, that earlier critical minds would have had their doubts also.

From 1595, the year in which the apocrypha were discovered, until his death in 1615, Luna seems to have been involved in the translation and interpretation process of the Parchment and Lead Books. Around 1611, Luna attempted to secure recognition as a nobleman (*hidalgo*).[21] He died in Granada in 1615, and was buried in that city as a good and faithful Christian.[22]

The Quixote

There are several references to the Lead Book affair in the Quixote. The first appears at the beginning. In chapter 9 of part I, where the narrator ("Cervantes") tells us the following:

> One day, as I was in the Alcaná of Toledo, a boy came up to sell some pamphlets and old papers to a silk mercer, and, as I am fond of reading even the very scraps of paper in the streets, led by this natural bent of mine I took up one of the pamphlets the boy had for sale, and saw that it was in characters which I recognized as Arabic, and as I was unable to read them, though I could recognize them, I looked about to see if there were any Spanish-speaking Moriscos at hand to read them for me; nor was there any great difficulty in finding such an interpreter, for even had

20 See Bernabé Pons, "Estudio preliminary," p. XLV ff, and the sources referred to by him.

21 Dario Cabanelas Rodríguez, "Cartas del morisco Miguel de Luna," *Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes y Hebraicos*, XIV–XV (1965–1966), pp. 31–47. The Parchment and Lead Books continued to be examined in Spain and in the Vatican for many more years, until finally the Holy See anathematized them in 1682. They were returned to Granada in 2000.

22 Archive of the Sacromonte, Leg. V, f. 737, a letter discussing the 'Christian' death of Miguel de Luna by Alonso Nuñez de Valdivia y Mendoza to archbishop Pedro de Castro, 10 December 1615. The letter is followed on f. 738 by an undated letter to Castro by doña María de Verástegui, his widow, confirming this information.

> I sought one for an older and better language I should have found him. In short, chance provided me with one, who when I told him what I wanted and put the book into his hands, opened it in the middle and after reading a little in it began to laugh. I asked him what he was laughing at, and he replied that it was at something the book had written in the margin by way of a note. I bade him tell it to me; and he still laughing said, "In the margin, as I told you, this is written: 'This Dulcinea del Toboso so often mentioned in this history, had, they say, the best hand of any woman in all La Mancha for salting pork.' "[23]

And:

> When I heard Dulcinea del Toboso named, I was struck with surprise and amazement, for it occurred to me at once that these pamphlets contained the history of Don Quixote. With this idea I pressed him to read the beginning, and doing so, turning the Arabic offhand into Castilian, he told me it meant, 'History of Don Quixote of La Mancha, written by Cide Hamete Benengeli, an Arab historian.' It required great caution to hide the joy I felt when the title of the book reached my ears, and snatching it from the silk mercer, I bought all the papers and pamphlets from the boy for half a real; and if he had had his wits about him and had known how eager I was for them, he might have safely calculated on making more than six reals by the bargain. I withdrew at once with the

23 Translation by John Ormsby on http://cervantes.tamu.edu/english/ctxt/DQ_Ormsby/part1_DQ_Ormsby.html, the Spanish reads: "Estando yo un día en el Alcaná de Toledo, llegó un muchacho a vender unos cartapacios y papeles viejos a un sedero; y, como yo soy aficionado a leer aunque sean los papeles rotos de las calles, llevado de esta mi natural inclinación tomé un cartapacio de los que el muchacho vendía y vile con carácteres que conocí ser arábigos. Y puesto que aunque los conocía no los sabía leer, anduve mirando si parecía por allí algún morisco aljamiado que los leyese, y no fue muy dificultoso hallar intérprete semejante, pues aunque le buscara de otra mejor y más antigua lengu, le hallara. En fin, la suerte me deparó uno, que, diciéndole mi deseo y poniéndole el libro en las manos, le abrió por medio, y, leyendo un poco en él, se comenzó a reír. Preguntéle yo que de qué se reía, y respondióme que de una cosa que tenía aquel libro escrita en el margen por anotación. Díjele que me la dijese; y él, sin dejar la risa, dijo:—Está, como he dicho, aquí en el margen escrito esto: "Esta Dulcinea del Toboso, tantas veces en esta historia referida, dicen que tuvo la mejor mano para salar puercos que otra mujer de toda la Mancha," Miguel de Cervantes, *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, Francisco Rico ed., Madrid 2004, pp. 86–87.

> Morisco into the cloister of the cathedral, and begged him to turn all these pamphlets that related to Don Quixote into the Castilian tongue, without omitting or adding anything to them, offering him whatever payment he pleased. He was satisfied with two arrobas of raisins and two bushels of wheat, and promised to translate them faithfully and with all dispatch; but to make the matter easier, and not to let such a precious find out of my hands, *I took him to my house, where in little more than a month and a half he translated the whole just as it is set down here* (my italics, GW).[24]

At the end of the first part of the Quixote, the first-person narrator returns to the Lead Book affair. He tells us that he had tried in vain to find evidence about a third journey made by Don Quixote, until he met a doctor who possessed a lead box with an ancient manuscript inside.[25] The doctor said that the box had been found while demolishing an old hermitage; the parchment contained within it was written in Gothic letters and included Castilian verse. The contents were hard to understand, but the interpreters, academicians of Argamasilla (a small village in La Mancha that in reality could certainly not boast such a distinguished institution) had deciphered poems about the lives and heroic deeds of the main characters of the novel: Don Quixote, Sancho Panza, the horse Rocinante, and Dulcinea of El Toboso. The rest of the

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24 "Cuando yo oí decir 'Dulcinea del Toboso,' quedé atónito y suspenso, porque luego se me representó que aquellos cartapacios contenían la historia de don Quijote. Con esta imaginación, le di priesa que leyese el principio, y, haciéndolo así, volviendo de improviso el arábigo en castellano, dijo que decía: *Historia de don Quijote de la Mancha, escrita por Cide Hamete Benengeli, historiador arábigo*. Mucha discreción fue menester para disimular el contento que recebí cuando llegó a mis oídos el título del libro, y, salteándosele al sedero, compré al muchacho todos los papeles y cartapacios por medio real; que, si él tuviera discreción y supiera lo que yo los deseaba, bien se pudiera prometer y llevar más de seis reales de la compra. Apartéme luego con el morisco por el claustro de la iglesia mayor, y roguele me volviese aquellos cartapacios, todos los que trataban de don Quijote, en lengua castellana, sin quitarles ni añadirles nada, ofreciéndole la paga que él quisiese. Contentóse con dos arrobas de pasas y dos fanegas de trigo, y prometió de traducirlos bien y fielmente y con mucha brevedad. Pero yo, por facilitar más el negocio y por no dejar de la mano tan buen hallazgo, *le truje a mi casa, donde en poco más de mes y medio la tradujo toda, del mesmo modo que aquí se refiere*. (my italics, GW)"

25 Chapter 52. I thank Professor Julio Baena of the University of Colorado at Boulder for drawing my attention to this passage. See Case, "Cide Hamete Bengeli," pp. 21–22, who discusses the passage as well.

parchment appeared hard to decipher because the letters had been eaten away. However, they were submitted to an academician (of Argamasilla) who would, by conjecture, explain them. The first-person narrator had received notice that the man had been able to do this, with many sleepless nights and effort, and that he had the intention to publish them, in the hope of a third journey of don Quixote.[26] There can indeed be little doubt that these are references to the efforts to translate the parchment of the Torre Turpiana.

Miguel de Luna as Model for Cervantes' Novel

The first reference in the Quixote has generated considerable interest. The main focus of these studies has been the invented author Cidi Hamete Benengeli. However, I believe it is the humble Morisco translator, a man who does not even receive a name, who deserves our attention, for, as I will argue, it is clear that he was based on Miguel de Luna. First, as L.P. Harvey as already noted, Cervantes, who visited Granada in 1594, had every reason to be well-informed not only about the Torre Turpiana affair and the Valparaiso excavations, which were to take place in 1595, but very likely also about the *Verdadera Historia*.[27] And indeed it can be confirmed that Cervantes read the *Verdadera Historia*, as is evident from part 1, chapter 30 of the Quixote, in which we are told that

26 "Pero el autor de esta historia, puesto que con curiosidad y diligencia ha buscado los hechos que don Quijote hizo en su tercera salida, no ha podido hallar noticia de ellas, a lo menos por escrituras auténticas: sólo la fama ha guardado, en las memorias de la Mancha, que don Quijote la tercera vez que salió de su casa fue a Zaragoza, donde se halló en unas famosas justas que en aquella ciudad hicieron, y allí le pasaron cosas dignas de su valor y buen entendimiento. Ni de su fin y acabamiento pudo alcanzar cosa alguna, ni la alcanzara ni supiera si la buena suerte no le deparara un antiguo médico que tenía en su poder una caja de plomo, que, según él dijo, se había hallado en los cimientos derribados de una antigua ermita que se renovaba; en la cual caja se habían hallado unos pergaminos escritos con letras góticas, pero en versos castellanos, que contenían muchas de sus hazañas y daban noticia de la hermosura de Dulcinea del Toboso, de la figura de Rocinante, de la fidelidad de Sancho Panza y de la sepultura del mismo don Quijote, con diferentes epitafios y elogios de su vida y costumbres.[. . .] "Éstos fueron los versos que se pudieron leer; los demás, por estar carcomida la letra, se entregaron a un académico para que por conjeturas los declarase. Tiénese noticia que lo ha hecho, a costa de muchas vigilias y mucho trabajo, y que tiene intención de sacallos a luz, con esperanza de la tercera salida de don Quixote." (Cervantes, *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, the entire episode is on pp. 529–534, quotations on p. 529).

27 Harvey, *The Moriscos*, pp. 14–15.

Don Quixote's identity and valor depend on a mole on his right side under the left shoulder, the mark of a strong man. Horace Jeffery Hodges saw that this passage was very similar to a passage in the *Verdadera Historia*, in which a prophecy is discussed, which states:

> that the Christians were to lose that land, and that it was to be conquered by the Moors: it said farther, that the Captain that was to gain it, was to be valorous and *strong*; and for a proof of the knowledge of him, he was to have a *hairy mole* as large as a garvanzo, or vetch, over the shoulder of his right hand. On conclusion of these words by that woman, the *Tariff* was much pleased, and before all his retinue *stripped himself*, and having carefully looked, *they found the mole* as the woman had said.[28]

It is also significant that Luna was not only the translator and main forger of the Parchment of the Torre Turpiana and the Lead Books; he was also, like Cervantes' translator, a Spanish speaking Morisco, who was raised speaking Arabic and only later learned to speak Castilian. Furthermore, as García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano have recently discovered, Miguel de Luna was not the sincere Arab Christian he pretended to be. In the Toledo Inquisition trial of the Toledan Morisco Juan de Rojas (which took place between 1601 and 1603), Rojas is reported to have told a witness that Miguel de Luna, whom he had met in Toledo in the house of another Morisco merchant of the Alcaná, stated that: "in the Lead Books that had been found in the Holy Mountain of Granada it was written by Jesus himself that he was neither son of God, nor God and that God does not have a son"[29] And the Inquisitors learned other things, from which it becomes clear that Luna described the Lead Books as documents with an Islamic, polemical message.

Equally noteworthy is the fact that Cervantes' Spanish speaking Morisco is given a salary and housed by the first-person narrator during the six week translation process of the papers that the latter had discovered at the Alcaná, in what would seem to be a parody of the circumstances in which the Lead

28 Horace Jeffery Hodges, "Holy Moley: Don Quijote's Significant *Señal*," *Cervantes. Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America*, 29,2 (Fall, 2009), 173–183, p. 175.

29 García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *Un Oriente*, pp. 192–193, "les declaró cómo en las hojas de plomo que se han hallado en el Monte Santo de Granada está escripto de mano de Jesucristo cómo el mismo dixo que no era ni hijo de Dios ni Dios ni Dios tenía hijo . . .," and see also Mercedes García-Arenal, "Miguel de Luna y los Moriscos de Toledo. No hay en España mejor moro," *Chronica Nova* 36 (2010), pp. 253–262.

Books were translated.[30] Adan Centurión, Marquis of Estepa,[31] tells us that shortly after the parchment was discovered on 18 March 1588, a committee of canons was appointed by the bishop of Granada, Juan Méndez de Salvatierra, and bound by secrecy under the pain of excommunication. For the translation of the Arabic parts, the *licenciado* José Fajardo, who had been professor of Arabic at the University of Salamanca was first approached. However, he excused himself, stating that he did not know Arabic well enough. The second candidate was the licentiate Francisco López Tamarid, "familiar y intérprete del Santo Oficio de la Inquisición deste reino de Granada" and *racionero* of the cathedral of Granada, who also excused himself. Then, Miguel de Luna, who, with the Morisco Alonso del Castillo, was seen as the most qualified person for the task, examined the Arabic parts, assisted by Tamarid and Fajardo, between 26 and 30 March 1588. Because he was not able to decipher everything (I will not go into the details here), Luna demanded that he be allowed to read the parchment at home in order to study it more quietly. This request was duly granted.[32] Subsequently, and allegedly independently from Miguel de Luna, Alonso del Castillo studied the parchment between 2 and 5 April of the same year.[33] The similarities between the translation process of the parchment in

30 It is interesting to observe that the *morisco aljamiado* receives a salary. This salary is presented as modest in the Quixote. The historic Luna built a career on the Lead Book affair and tried to become an *hidalgo*. We do not know yet how well he was paid for his work, but we find a lot of evidence about payments to the translators by archbishop Pedro de Castro in the records kept in the Archive of the Sacromonte. These records need further study. However, that the translation process was very expensive is confirmed by a document kept in the Archivo General de Simancas. It is dated 26 January 1597 and in it, Archbishop Pedro de Castro informs the King about his extreme financial needs and tells him that he has had to spend his personal wealth for the qualification of the documents and the expenses of the prelates who came to discuss their authenticity. See Archivo General de Simancas (AGS), Legajo 494, f. 121. I am grateful to Drs. Antonio Carmona y Maria Luisa Valverde for drawing my attention to this document.

31 Adan Centurión, *Información para la historia del Sacromonte, llamado de Valparaiso y antiguamente Illiputano junto a Granada donde parecieron las cenizas de S. Cecilio, S. Thesiphon y S. Hiscio, discipvlos del Apostol, único patron de las Españas, Santiago y otros santos discipulos dellos y sus libros escritos en láminas de plomo*. Primera Parte. Granada, 1632, f. 6r–12r.

32 Centurión, op. cit., f. 11r "… que avia menester verlo despacio, y pido se lo dexassen llevar a su casa. Y aviendo tratado entre si el Prouisor, y los quarto asistentes, se le mandaron entregar, y dio recibido."

33 Dario Cabanelas Rodríguez, *El morisco granadino Alonso del Castillo* (estudio preliminar: Juan Martínez Ruiz), Granada, 1991, p. 243. Van Koningsveld and Wiegers, "Five Documents," show that Alonso del Castillo was not involved in the forgery. Boyano

Granada and the papers found at the Alcaná in Cervantes's novel is striking. In both cases, a Spanish speaking Morisco is requested to translate old papers connected to Spain's Arabic heritage in a process of close surveillance.

Judging from the new evidence, we may conclude that the historical model for Cervantes' Spanish speaking Morisco is very likely Miguel de Luna. Cervantes' Morisco is presented as the translator of the story of Don Quixote, but the reader should understand that he was rather the inventor, who therefore was also the inventor of its author, the noble Moor Cide Hamete Benengeli. Thus Cervantes makes fun of Miguel de la Luna as the forger of the Parchment, Lead Books and, more particularly, the *Historia verdadera*.

If we now turn again to the Quixote, we may notice that Arabic names in the novel are usually inventions. Benengeli is pictured as an Arab Muslim from La Mancha, and a nobleman: Cervantes refers to him as Cide, from the Arabic Sayyidi, meaning "My Lord" and the common indication for Muslims who claim to have be a descendant of the prophet Muhammad. The name Hamete undoubtedly refers to the Arabic name Ahmad. Interesting is Devin Stewart's suggestion for the etymology of Benengeli, which, he argues, may refer to a place name, perhaps Bani Indjīl, i.e. "Sons of the Gospel." The reference to *Sons of the Gospel* is interesting in the light of the evidence presented above with regard to the content of the Lead Books. Maybe Cervantes invented this name to make fun of Miguel de Luna and the *Essence of the Gospel, viz. the True Gospel*. However that may be, it seems very likely that both Cervantes' Cidi Ahmete Benengeli and the Spanish speaking Moriscos, the "*morisco aljamiado*" are manifestations of the Granadan doctor and royal interpreter for the Arabic language, Miguel de Luna.

Conclusion

Having visited Granada, Cervantes was aware of the Parchment, Lead Books and *Verdadera historia de Don Rodrigo*. In the Quijote he makes fun of Miguel de Luna as someone who makes a career out of inventing tales and passing them off as historical sources and sacred lore. Using the literary device of the *manuscrit trouvé*, the Quixote is presented to the reader as the translation of a Spanish speaking Morisco whom the first person narrator met at the Alcaná in Toledo, the Arab original being a history of chivalry written by a noble Arab from La Mancha, Cide Ahmete Benengeli. In the Quixote, he refers to the

Guerra, "En busca del original a través de la traducción: De nuevo sobre el pergamino," discusses Castillo's low esteem for Luna.

discovery of the parchment and makes fun of the interpreters and the contents. Instead of a lofty prophecy about the end of time shedding light on the origins of Christianity in the Iberian Peninsula, the parchment found in his novel contain stories about the main tragic characters of his novel. Whereas the humanist and biblical scholar Benito Arias Montano offered direct and serious scholarly criticism on the parchment and its significance, Cervantes used the weapon of literary irony.

CHAPTER 9

An Attempted Morisco Settlement in Early Seventeenth-Century Tuscany

Asher Salah

Under the *Livornina*, the Leghorn constitution published 30 July 1591 by Grand Duke Fernando I de' Medici, merchants of all nations were invited to establish themselves at Leghorn and Pisa. Although the decree was designed to attract Jews in general and New Christians in particular, assuring them of protection against any form of persecution even if they returned to practicing the religion of their ancestors, we should still not forget that the invitation was also directed to "Turks, Moors, and Persians."

Previously known sources mention the fact that a handful of Moriscos reached Leghorn and Tuscany, journeying from Marseille and elsewhere in southern France, but that they stayed only briefly before embarking toward Muslim lands. Very little has been written about the Morisco settlement in Tuscany, how long it lasted, or the socio-economic circumstances under which it existed, despite its importance for reconstructing the paths to exile of the expelled. To what extent did the Moriscos respond to the Medici's encouragement to settle in Tuscany, and what traces did they leave behind in their passage through Italy? With the help of unpublished documents from the archives of Florence in Italy and Simancas in Spain, I will compare the reception accorded by the Medici state to Jewish and Muslim refugees from the Iberian Peninsula,

* Translated by William Childers

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within the context of the Grand Duke's Mediterranean policy, and his conception of reason of state, in the attempt to discover the reasons for its failure.

The trajectories followed by Moriscos expelled from Spain can be divided into two broad categories: the first includes all routes taken by those who established themselves in Islamic lands, particularly in the Barbary Coast, where the majority settled, either by choice or under duress; while the second consists of the paths by which they were led to various Christian lands. To this second category belong: many who feared a poor reception by Muslims due to the suspicion that they had remained faithful Christians; those who did not wish to separate from their children under eight years old, as the decree of expulsion established for those who desired to relocate directly to Islamic lands; and finally those who feared maritime insecurity or could not afford the expenses of the journey.

For obvious geographic reasons, the two European territories that received the largest number were France, the obligatory conduit for any Morisco choosing to go into exile by land; and Italy, from whose ports they could afterwards embark for the Ottoman Empire.[1] The Morisco presence in southern France is better known at present, thanks to Louis Cardaillac, Henry Lapeyre and other scholars, influenced by Braudel and the Annales School.[2]

As for Italy, up until recently scholarship provided only sporadic and inaccurate mention of the passage of Moriscos as a result of their persecution and final expulsion.[3] All the main histories about the Morisco Diaspora have in

1 The bibliography on the Morisco diaspora is constantly increasing in the last years. I will only mention Luis Bernabè Pons and Jorge Gil Herrera, *Los moriscos fuera de España: Rutas y Financiación*, Valencia, 2010 and the most recent and up-to date collective work edited by Mercedes García-Arenal and Gerard Wiegers, *Los moriscos: expulsión y diáspora. Una perspectiva internacional*, Valencia, 2013.

2 From the extensive bibliography let it suffice to mention a few of the most important studies: Youssef El Alaoui, "Los moriscos en Francia tras la Expulsión. Apuntes para una historia de la minoría," in García-Arenal, Wiegers eds., *Los moriscos*, op. cit., pp. 233–255; Bernard Vincent, "Moriscos," in Jordi Canal i Morell eds., *Exilios: los éxodos políticos en la historia de España, siglo XV–XX*, Madrid, 2007, pp. 57–74; Pierre Santoni, "Les tournées de François de Beaumont pour l'expulsion des morisques de Provence (janvier–mars 1611)," *Cahiers de la Méditerranée*, 79 (2009), on line http://cdlm.revues.org/index4930.html; Idem, "Le passage des Morisques en Provence (1610–1613)," *Provence historique*, 185 (1996); Louis Cardaillac, *Le passage des Morisques en Languedoc*, Thèse, Montpellier, 1970; Henri Lapeyre, *Géographie de l'Espagne Morisque*, Paris, 1959; Francisque Michel, *Histoire des races maudites de la France et de l'Espagne*, Paris, 1847 (re-edited in Zaghouan, 1989).

3 The majority of these contributions have appeared after I first presented the results of my researches in the Italian archives at the conference in Alcalá de Henares in 2010 organized by Kevin Ingram and while this article was in print. I would like at least to mention, together

fact overlooked the Italian settlement experiment, merely repeating the broad syntheses of the Morisco diaspora presented by Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, Bernard Vincent and Mikel Epalza. Here, for example, is what Domínguez Ortiz has to say on the subject:

> Italy could have offered an opportunity to those who wished to continue living (or pretending to live) as Christians. Many passed that way en route to Turkey or Tunisia, and some remained, though our information on this point is scant . . . Only one sovereign showed willingness to grant them asylum: the Grand Duke of Tuscany tried to settle three thousand in Leghorn . . . Why the attempt failed is unknown.[4]

Mikel de Epalza minimizes the importance of the Moriscos' passage through Italy, emphasizing "the meager documentation preserved concerning the exiles," which permits "only a partial view of the Italian episode of the expulsion."[5] It is therefore not surprising that Abdeljelil Temimi's bibliographical study of the Moriscos includes not a single thematic entry relating to their presence in Italy, though there are entries for France, North Africa, Anatolia, and even America.[6] Yet Italy was a much-appreciated escape route for Moriscos even before the expulsion. Venice is the last destination in the "avisos del camino", an itinerary, written before 1556, for Moriscos trying to leave Spain through France and Italy. Moriscos who wanted to return to Spain also followed the path of Italy. Among the *aljamiado*-Morisco manuscripts in the Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia, there is an anonymous narrative of a land journey from Venice to Spain in 1567, which includes the following description of Italy: "Italy, and the other part, which is Piedmont, is a very bountiful land of

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with the monographic issue of *Quaderni Storici*, 144/3 (2013) devoted to the Morisco Diaspora edited by Stefania Pastore and Giovanna Fiume, the most important of them to the subject of this essay: Cesare Santus, "Moreschi in Toscana: progetti e tentative di insediamento tra Livorno e la Maremma (1610–1614)", *Quaderni storici*, 144/3 (2013), pp. 745–778; Bruno Pomara Saverino, "Presenze silenziose. I moriscos di fronte al Sant'Uffizio romano (1610–1636)," *Quaderni storici*, 144/3 (2013), pp. 715–744; Idem, "La diaspora morisca in Italia: storie di mediatori, schiavitù e battesimi," *Storia economica*, 17 (2014), pp. 163–194; Gennaro Varriale, "Tra il mediterraneo e il fonte battesimale: mussulmani a Napoli nel XVI secolo," *Revista de historia moderna*, 31 (2013), pp. 91–108.

4 Antonio Domínguez Ortiz y Bernard Vincent, *Historia de los moriscos: vida y tragedia de una minoría*, Madrid, 1993, pp. 228–229.

5 Mikel de Epalza, *Los moriscos antes y después de la expulsión*, Madrid, 1992, pp. 292–294.

6 Abdeljelil Temimi, *Bibliographie générale d'études morisques*, Zaghouan, 1995.

plenty, from which can be expected all nature of provisions, everything necessary for human sustenance."[7]

None of the few authors who treated the transit of the Moriscos through Italy mentioned the sources on which they based their admittedly brief comments. In fact, they all ultimately rely on the same secondary source, *Istoria del Granducato di Toscana sotto il governo della casa de' Medici* by Jacopo Riguccio Galluzzi (1739–1801), a Florentine archivist and local historian, which mentions Grand Duke Cosimo II's project of bringing Moriscos to Tuscany around 1611.[8] However, Galluzzi offers very few details on the subject, and some of these are erroneous, not least the number of Moriscos supposedly invited to settle in the city is given as three thousand, although at the time Leghorn had only about that number of inhabitants.[9] Nevertheless, the *Istoria del Granducato di Toscana* is still a valuable source, based on the author's direct examination, between 1771 and 1778, of materials from the Florentine archive known as the *Segreteria Vecchia*.[10] For this very reason, it is worthwhile seeking out the original documents Galluzzi used in writing his historical note concerning the Moriscos in Tuscany.

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7 "La Italia i la otra parte todo es Piamonte, i es tierra muy bondadosa de toda provisión que se pueda demandar de cualquiera naturaleza de provisión i de toda cosa convenible para el sustentamiento de la persona." Álvaro Galmés de Fuentes, *Los manuscritos aljamiado-moriscos de la Biblioteca de la Real Academia de Historia*, Madrid, 1998, p. 101. On this guide for escaping moriscos and the other for returning ones, see Luce López-Baralt, Awilda Irizarry, "Dos itinerarios secretos de los moriscos del siglo XVI (Los manuscritos aljamiados 774 de la Biblioteca Nacional de París y T-16 de la Real Academia de la Historia)," in *Homenaje a Álvaro Galmés de Fuentes*, Oviedo-Madrid, 1985, vol. 1, pp. 547–582; Joseph N. Lincoln, "An Itinerary for Moriscos Refugees from 16th Century Spain," *Geographical Review*, 129 (1939), pp. 283–287.

8 In chapter 2 of book 6, which deals with Cosimo II's initiatives for enlarging the port of Leghorn.

9 The origin of the mistake must be the document attesting the promise of the Morisco merchant Talavera to bring to the Maremma as labor force "two thousand and five hundred and even three thousand persons." Archivio di Stato di Firenze [Henceforth: ASFi], Mediceo del Principato, 4943, cc. 129r–131r: 130rv (June 28, 1610).

10 In 1768, Jacopo Riguccio Galluzzi, Carlo Bonsi, and Ferdinando Fossi were commissioned to reorganize the archive of the *Segreteria vecchia*, that is, the personal archive of the Medici family, which contains more than 6,570 files, preserved in nine rooms. They worked for two years to complete the reorganization, and five more to catalogue the material contained there.

Until now, the only known documents referring to Cosimo II's plans for bringing Moriscos to his estates were those published by Abdeljelil Temimi.[11] These consist of twenty-four letters sent by Ettore Pesciolini and Antonio Pierpelatti,[12] agents of the Grand Duke in Marseille, to his head secretary, Belisario Vinta (1542–1613), between April 1610 and January 1611, currently preserved in the Medici Granducal Archive.[13] Although these documents shed some light on the activities of the Medici government in trying to convince Moriscos to relocate to Leghorn, the brief span of time they cover leaves several questions unanswered.

The goal of these pages is to fill this gap in our knowledge. Details on the presence of Moriscos in Tuscany come from three registries: the Mediceo del Principato and of the Legazioni in Florence,[14] and the Consejo de Estado at Simancas, Spain. These allow us access to the point of view not only of Leghorn's civil authorities, but also that of the Tuscan diplomatic corps in Spain and France, providing at the same time important information about Luso-Hispanic consular activity in Italy.

Antecedents and Stages of the Project

Tuscan diplomats' interest in the circumstances of the Moriscos began long before the expulsion of 1609. Already on January 16, 1569, the Tuscan ambassador to the Spanish court, Leonardo de Nobili (1526–1574), writes to the Grand Duke Cosimo I de' Medici concerning his conversation with Antonio Pérez about the rebellion of the Alpujarras. The ambassador agrees with Pérez that repressive measures taken against the Moriscos are justified, given that they

11 Abdeljalil Temimi, "Le passage des Morisques à Marseille, Livourne et Istanbul d'après de nouveaux documents italiens," *Revue d'histoire maghrébine*, 55/56 (1989), pp. 33–52 (republished in Idem, *Études d'Histoire Morisque*, Zaghouan, 1993, pp. 41–60).

12 Informations about the commercial and political networks in France of the Pesciolini family from San Gimignano see Cesare Santus, "Moriscos a Livorno," op. cit., p. 721.

13 ASFi, Mediceo del Principato, 4752.

14 Identifying refugees from Spain can only be made in context, due to the fact that the words "mori" and "moreschi" in the Italian sources, often designate both the exiles from Spain and the inhabitants of North Africa. On the other hand, "moresco," at least during the years of the final expulsion, generally takes on the Spanish meaning of Morisco, while those prisoners captured on the Barbary Coast are generically referred to as Turks, independently of their true ethnic origin.

constitute a fifth column in the interior of the Spanish territory and have not been able to assimilate to the rest of the Christian population.

> I have been informed by Don Antonio Pérez that His Majesty [Philip II of Austria], having clearly understood in the past few months that allowing these Moriscos to go on dressing in their old fashion, speaking their language, and using the ceremonies of their law, ran the risk that someday, inspired by the contacts they have with the inhabitants of the neighbouring African coast that are similar to them, they might try something, ordered that from now on their language, dress, and all other Morisco customs should be forbidden. And now, as this was about to be carried out, certain Moriscos in the villages of a province called the Alpujarras have risen up against the justice of the King, killing all the Christians, and burning the churches . . .[15]

However, this knowledge did not prevent the Tuscan government from seriously considering the possibility of offering political asylum to the Moriscos fleeing due to the Alpujarras War.[16] Moreover, many of the rebels were enslaved by Spanish authorities and taken to Italy where it turns out that some were purchased by the Grand Duke of Tuscany himself.[17]

Another document from 1606 describes the activities of the Spanish and Portuguese Inquisition, whose victims at that time were primarily Moriscos:

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15 "[. . .] Ho ritratto dal Prior Don Antonio [de Pérez] [. . .] il quale mi disse che S.M.tà [Felipe II de Austria] alli mesi passati conosciuto chiaramente che il consentir a lungo andare a questi moreschi il vestirsi della maniera loro antica, parlare la lor lingua naturale, et usar molte delle cerimonie della lor legge, facea pericolo ch'un giorno non tentassero qualche novità subornati dalla pratica, che merce della similitudine teneano con la spiaggia d'Affrica loro vicina, havea dato ordine che da qui avanti fosse loro vietato la lingua, il vestirsi, et ogni ceremonia moresca, quale adesso han voluto esequerla certi moreschi d'alcuni castelli d'una provincia chiamata las Alpuxaras, si sono alzati contra la giustitia del Re ammazzando tutti li Cristiani et abbruciando le chiese [. . .]" ASFi, Mediceo del Principato, 4902, f. 119.

16 Unfortunately, I was unable to find the document referred to in the Turin journal *Rivista Contemporanea*, 25 (1861), p. 339, in support of this affirmation. In the article, it states that the information came from "gleanings" (*spigolature*) from Tuscan archives, with no more precise indication than the following: "Cart. de España XLVIII." In the journal there is a synthesis of the original document.

17 Salvatore Bono, "La schiavitu' e la storia del Mediterraneo," in *Le nuove effemeridi*, 54 (2001), p. 10.

> Some of the penitents are obligated to wear for the rest of their lives, others for only a few years, the *Sanbenito*, a tunic made of two pieces of yellow cloth, with a red St. Andrew's cross on it. It is worn over the shoulders and hangs to the waist. Both men and women wear it over their regular clothes; whoever wears it is recognized by everyone. In Córdoba and Murcia there are more than anywhere else. Most of them are Moriscos and you can read the names of the condemned in the churches of every locality where the Inquisition goes, especially in the churches of Saint Dominic [...] In Portugal there is still the General Inquisition, which does not depend on the Castilian one [...][18]

Given the great interest on the part of the Medici state for political events in Spain, it is no surprise that the Grand Ducal archives also preserve copies of Spanish documents relating to the Morisco expulsion of 1609, such as Philip III's letters in which he orders the Bishop of Segorbe, Félix de Figueroa, and the Marquis of Caracena, Luis Carrillo de Toledo, to proceed with the expulsion of the Moriscos from Valencia.[19]

The general expulsion of the Moriscos in fact created turmoil in most of the Italian chancelleries, and there were persistent rumours that anti-Spaniards and pro-French groups in the peninsula could take advantage of the fact that the Spanish possessions in Milan and Naples were left without consistent defences after their garrisons had been mobilized to carry out the expulsion

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18 "Ci sono li penitenziati de'quali alcuni sono obligati per tutto il tempo della lor vita, altri per qualch'anno portare il sanbenitto, che è un vestito fatto di due pezzi di panno ranciato con una [symbol of a cross] rossa di S. Andrea. Et si mette sopra le spalle e arriva fino alla cintura, e questo mettono huomini, e donne sopra quale si sia vestito, che porti acciochè sia visto da ogn'uno e in Cordova, e Murzia, ne è più, che in luogo veruno. La maggior parte d'essi sono moreschi, e si leggono i nomi di coloro che si sono giustiziati, et che hanno adiurato nelle chiese principali d'ogni luogho, dove è l'Inquisizione, e in particolare nelle chiese di San Domenico [...] In Portogallo vi è ancora l'Inquisizione Generale, che non depende da quella di Castiglia [...]" ASFi, Mediceo del Principato, f. 4941, c. 261 r et v.

19 ASFi, Mediceo del Principato, 5080, f. 432, under the heading *Cacciata dei moreschi di Spagna, 1609*. See also ASFi, Mediceo del Principato, 5080, f. 433, *Copia de la carta que la mag.d católica del Rey don Felipe tersero n.s.r embió a don Luys Carrillo de Toledo, su lugarteniente y capitán general en el Reyno de Valenzia para hechar los moriscos de a quel Reyno*. On this topic, see Mangio Carlo, "Echi italiani della guerra dei moriscos", in *Felipe II y el Mediterraneo*, Ernest Belenguer ed., Madrid, 1999, Vol. II, pp. 555–568.

decrees.[20] Leonardo Donà, Doge of Venice, a city of transit for Moriscos trying to reach the Balkans and Constantinople, also appears to have been well informed of the expulsion and its antecedents while he was ambassador at the Spanish court (from 1569 to 1573). If on the one hand, in October 1610, he expresses to the Spanish ambassador in Venice, Alonso de la Cueva y Benavides, his approval of the ideological motivations behind the decree of expulsion, on the other he gives refuge to some prominent New Christian merchants of Muslim descent, causing no little preoccupation in the Spanish embassy in the Serenissima.[21]

The same ambivalence toward the Morisco questions is to be found in two narrative reports sent from Madrid to Florence by Count Orso Pannocchieschi d'Elci, the Tuscan ambassador to Spain from October 1608 to 1618, from which it is possible to follow the different stages of the expulsion of the Moriscos. In the first report, from early October 1609, that is, just a few days after the royal expulsion decree of September 22, we read:

> The resolution taken about these Moriscos has been executed rigorously. Agostino Messia is responsible for embarking them[22] . . . They embarked on the sea and departed with such fierce resolve that no woman or child

20 Don Juan Viñas, the Spanish ambassador in Genoa, writes to the king as follows: "que habiéndose publicado por toda Italia con gran rumor que Vuestra Majestad hecha los moriscos del Reyno de Valencia tiene evidencia que algunos de la facción Francesa y que desean ver fuera de Italia la nación española han escrito a aquel rey que Vuestra Majestad no podrá acabar tan presto este negocio y dexa desporveido a Milán y Nápoles que es buena ocasión para arrimase el por allá y así suplica donde a Vuestra Majestad mande dar priesa a la execución de lo que se ha determinado" (Archivo General Simancas [Henceforth: AGS], Estado, Genova, leg. 1932, fol. 401).

21 "He hablado algunas veces con el dux de Esta Republica sobre la expulsión de los moriscos que VM ha mandado hacer y le ha aparecido bien respecto desa causa que obligaron alejarles. De las cuales dize que tiene mucha noticia desde que era embaxador a su Majestad que Dios tiene a tiempo de la guerra con el Turco y añadió averlo oydo entonces al comendador mayor de Castilla que no se reparara en otra cosa que en el daño que recivirán los dueños de los lugares donde ha gitana aquella gente. A esta ciudad vienen algunos y pasan luego a la Bosnia y otras partes subjetas al Turco" (AGS, Estado, Venecia, leg. 1354, fol. 21).

22 In a letter dated 11 September 1609, Felipe III writes to Félix de Figueroa, Bishop of Segorbe (who had been in favour of trying to convert the Moriscos by peaceful means, as his calls for help from the Papacy demonstrate), "the authorization for bringing these people to the ports where they are to embark, has been remitted to field marshall Agustín Mexia, general captain and member of my war council" [*E*[*s*] *remitido la execuçion de hazer conduzir essa gente a las puertas do se an de embarcar al maestre de campo don Agustin Mexia*

> has been seen crying, although they are leaving behind their homes and property.[23] None wishes to remain in his house . . . They only desire security and . . . to be allowed to live according to their own law, without any form of Inquisition . . . *Such is the perfidy of these people and their diabolic obstinacy . . . that His Majesty's decision to chase them from his kingdoms became necessary and even prudent . . .*[24]

In his account the ambassador fully endorses the expulsion, considering it "necessary" and "prudent" for the defence of the religious interests of the Monarchy. This seems in line with the ideas that widely circulated in Italy through pamphlets embracing the Spanish argument that the expulsion was the consequence of a plot of the moriscos against the Monarchy, perhaps as a part of Philip III's strategy of convincing the Pope of the political necessity of the decree.[25] However, a few weeks later, on 24 October, the same Tuscan

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[*Mesía*] *capitan general y de mi conseyo de guerra*.] (ASFi, Mediceo del Principato, 5080, folio 432). Agustín Mexia y Manrique (1555–1629) was field marshall in Flanders.

23 Mikel de Epalza, "Estructuras de acogida de los moriscos emigrantes de España en el Magreb (Siglos XIII al XVIII)," *Alternativas: cuadernos de trabajo social*, 4 (1996), pp. 35–58, where he speaks of "Spanish sources that describe the devastating cries of mothers, for example, when they had to embark without their children from the port of Seville."

24 "La risoluzione presa de questi moreschi si ha eseguita rigorosamente. Agostino Messia che tiene il carico d'imbarcarli. . . . . si sono imbarcati sopra mare et si partono con tanta fiera e cum resolutione, che non s'è visto ne' donna, ne' fanciullo piangere con tutto che lascino le proprie case et beni ne' si trova chi voglia restare alle sue case . . . vogliono haver sicurtà et . . . d'essere lasciati vivere nella loro legge, senza forme d'inquisizione . . . tanta è la perfidia de questa gente et la loro diabolica ostinazione . . . quanto sia stato necessario nonché prudente il consiglio de sua maestà de cacciarli dai suoi regni . . ." ASFi, Mediceo del Principato, f. 4941, c. 261 r et v.

25 For instance, Damián Fonseca, *Justa expulsión de los moriscos de España,* that appeared first in Italian, translated by Cosimo Gaci as *Del giusto scacciamento dei moreschi da Spagna, libri sei*, published in Rome by Zanetti in 1611. The Spanish original came out the following year, also in Rome, printed by Moscardo. Cosimo Gacci is the author of another apologetic pamphlet in favor of the expulsion, titled *Ragionamento di Cosimo Gaci d'intorno al dimostrare la grandezza dell'attione che sua Maesta ha esseguita nello scacciare i moreschi nuovi christiani traditori, heretici e apostati*, Roma, 1611. See also along the same political line the less known treatise Antonio Quintini, *Relatione Di Quello Che trattavano i Moreschi di Spagna contra la Maestà del Rè Cattolico Don Filippo Terzo: Nella Quale Si Leggono notabili, & importanti particolari seguiti sin'all' espulsione loro dalli Regni della Spagna*, Genova, Pavoni, 1611 (second edition Milano, Malatesta, 1613) and Idem, *Congiura, et tradimento ordinato da' Moreschi di Spagna, contro la maestà del re cattolico D. Filippo terzo. Con molti importanti particolari seguiti*, Verona, 1615. One of the rare voices against the expulsion of the moriscos is to be found much later and in a context critical of

ambassador, now writing on the consequences of the expulsion, gives a more nuanced view. He comments on the cost of the expulsion to the Spanish crown in the following terms: "It was clear that the emigration of the Moriscos in Barbary had cost the King much gold, in spite of his claim that the money was well employed."[26]

This diplomatic correspondence allows us to confirm that in the evaluation of the political expediency of the expulsion, the religious advantages are placed side-by-side with considerations of an economic character, a calculation that must be remembered in order to understand the motives, but also the hesitation, on the part of the Medici authorities when they found themselves faced with the option of sheltering some of the Morisco refugees from Spain.[27]

During his brief reign, Cosimo II de' Medici (1590–1621), Grand Duke of Tuscany from 1609 until his death in 1621, participated little in the management of public affairs, delegating these responsibilities to his minister Belisario Vinta (1542–1613). The exaggerated prudence of Cosimo II, which characterized all his policies, also appears in his handling of the Morisco question. Nothing indicates that he ever made a legally binding public pronouncement on the subject, in contrast to the Leghorn constitutions (*Livornina*) granted by his father and predecessor between 1590 and 1593 to attract foreign merchants to the newly founded port city, which offered judicial protection to whoever came under their jurisdiction.

This is not to say that Cosimo II's intentions with respect to the Moriscos were never serious; quite the contrary. From 1610 to 1614, the documents reveal a keen interest in the destiny of the Spanish exiles, as demonstrated by the reiterated attempts to attract them to the Grand Duchy by the means of informal contacts with certain groups of refugees, employing Grand Ducal officials and other agents as intermediaries. The repopulation of the Maremma,

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the Spanish Inquisition in Gregorio Leti's, *Vita di don Pietro Giron, duca d'Ossuna, vicere di Napoli*, Vol. 2, Amsterdam, 1699.

26 "Alla qual non poteva fuggir de provveder, et l'altra essere stata la trasmigrazione dei moreschi in Barberia che havene costato al Re molto oro, ancorché affermasse essere stato assai bene impiegato. Et soggiunse ch'essendo per tante vie cresciute le spese . . ." ASFi, Mediceo del Principato, f. 4941, c. 283 v. When Philip III requested a loan of 400.000 florins from the Grand Duke, the Tuscan delegation at the Spanish court attributed the catastrophic state of the Spanish treasury to the "transmigration of the Moriscos" as well as the "excessive expenditure of Flanders."

27 A similar ambivalent attitude towards the Morisco problem and their suffering appears also in the diplomatic correspondence of the representatives of Venice at the Spanish court examined by Andrea Pelizza, " 'Quei mori di Granata, che capitano nel nostro dominio . . .' Venezia e il passaggio dei moriscos," *Quaderni Storici*, 144/3 (2013), pp. 782–785.

a swampy, inhospitable coastal area, had always been a major concern for Cosimo II, no less so than for his Medici ancestors and descendants. Already in 1560, Cosimo I tried to relocate 200 peasant families from Dalmatia, despite the risks and difficulties of such a project. "Do not think that bringing two hundred families to a foreign land is like tossing a ball from one hand to the other," he wrote.[28] The failure of the Morisco settlement and abandonment of any further efforts to bring Moriscos to Tuscany did not put an end to Medici immigration projects. In 1616, they brought extended families from Macedonia to Siena to cultivate the wastelands where they had tried only a few years previously to settle Moriscos.

Their demographic interest in the Moriscos as laborers and settlers was also a consequence of their well-known mercantilist policies. As Francesca Trivellato writes, "Florence wanted to capitalize on the first sign of crisis in Ottoman commercial power by attracting different groups of traders. Between 1551 and 1563 more charters targeted other merchant communities from the eastern Mediterranean, including Armenian, Greek and Muslim subjects of the Ottoman Empire."[29] It is important to insist on the fact that the Tuscan project of bringing Moriscos to the Grand Duchy, despite official secrecy, was not carried out without the knowledge of Spanish authorities. It appears that at the highest levels of government, Spain and Tuscany worked together to find the best solution to their internal problems in the maximum interest of both. This convergence of interests had already manifested itself, for example, in 1576, when Grand Duke Francesco I discussed with Philip II the possibility of issuing a safe conduct specifically for New Christians of Hebrew origin who wished to settle in Leghorn.[30] The same thing happened with the Moriscos after their expulsion. One side, the Spaniards, wanted to get rid of a numerous group suspected of heresy, while the other, the Tuscans, was simply interested in increasing productivity.

The idea of bringing Moriscos to Tuscany appears in two distinct projects of the Grand Duke's, conceived at a distance of four years from one another. The first, in 1610, is known to us mainly thanks to the archival documents published by Abdeljelil Temimi in French translation, in 1993, and which

28 "Non s'ha da pensare che il condurre 200 famiglie in paese forestiero sia come pigliare una palla da una mano e metterla nell'altra." Cf. *Rivista Contemporanea*, 25 (1861), p. 339.

29 Francesca Trivellato, *The Familiarity of Strangers: The Sephardic Diaspora, Livorno, and Cross-cultural Trade in the Early Modern Period*, New Haven, 2009, p. 51.

30 Ibid.

correspond with those utilized by Galluzzi for his historical sketch.[31] One unpublished document from 1610, which escaped Temimi's notice, summarizes this phase in the following terms: "Vinta worked with Romena,[32] resident in Spain, to bring three hundred Moriscos to the plains of Pisa and Leghorn. However, finding them boisterous and unfit for agriculture, he ordered Romena not to send any others."[33]

The idea for the project apparently came from the Grand Duke's commercial agents in Marseille, who, during the month of April 1610, informed the Tuscan authorities that a number of Moriscos, some of whom possessed considerable wealth, were present in the French port, but did not intend to continue their journey to Islamic lands because they were sincere Christians. It even seems that some of these Morisco notables, whose names are known to us, such as López de Talavera (also written Estalavella) and Melquior Zapata (also Sabbata), seriously explored the possibility of taking advantage of the conditions already offered in Leghorn to New Christians of Jewish origin.

These first contacts do not appear to have produced any concrete results, given that these Moriscos, however rich or poor they may have been, left Marseille a few months later. In a letter dated 21 July, Pierpelatti wrote that he can no longer find any Moriscos in Marseille and was now looking for those of more modest economic condition, mainly laborers, up the coast, in Toulon.[34] The wealthy ones had already left. Talavera had gone to Constantinople,[35] while Zapata had been arrested in Barcelona trying to return to Spain.[36] 1,300

31 Abdeljelil Temimi, *Études d'Histoire Morisque*, Zaghouan, 1993, pp. 41–60. These documents have been reexamined by Santus, "Moriscos a Livorno," op. cit., who complemented them with important discoveries in the Florence State Archives.

32 Raffaello Romena was the assistant of the representatives of the Tuscan diplomatic corps at the Spanish court.

33 "Il Vinta trattava col Romena, residente in Ispagna, per trarre 300 moreschi nei piani de Pisa e Livorno. Ma trovatili turbolenti e disadatti all'agricoltura si ordinava al Romena de non inviarne altri." *Rivista Contemporanea*, 25 (1861), p. 339.

34 Temimi, *Études d'Histoire Morisque*, op. cit., p. 54 (doc. No. 6).

35 He left Marseille on 3 October 1610. Cf. Temimi, *Études d'Histoire Morisque*, op. cit., p. 59 (doc. No. 21). He was arrested shortly after embarking along with other Moriscos journeying toward North Africa. Afterward Pierpelatti comments: "if he had gone to Leghorn, as he promised, he would not have had these problems" [*s'il s'était dirigé vers Livourne, comme il avait promis, il n'aurait pas eu ces problèmes*] Cf. Temimi, *Études d'Histoire Morisque*, op. cit., p. 60 (doc. No. 22).

36 Temimi, *Études d'Histoire Morisque*, op. cit., p. 42. In the correspondence of the Duque of Osuna, viceroy of Sicily a certain Luis Zapata, perhaps a relative of Melquior, is mentioned as a prominent leader of the Moriscos, who was arrested in Trapani in 1613 (AGS, Estado, Sicilia, leg. 1166, fol. 18, 71). In 1616 he was living in Tunis and appears as a main

Moriscos, embarking from Barcelona and Valencia, made land at Marseille in September 1610, but they were interested in reaching Tunisia as soon as possible, in order to practice their "accursed religion."[37] In spite of the evident religious prejudice toward the Moriscos, there is no doubt that the Grand Duke's correspondents regretted the Moriscos' decision to depart for the Barbary Coast, transporting their goods there, rather than to Leghorn.

There is no way to know how many of the hundreds of Morisco families that initially consented to settle in Tuscany as laborers finally landed in Leghorn,[38] but apparently they were no more than a few dozen. Furthermore, most of them remained in the port just long enough to book passage to other destinations. On 25 July, 1611, Belisario Vinta wrote to Piero Guicciardini, the Tuscan ambassador in Rome, that:

> Only a few of the Moriscos expelled from Spain arrived in Leghorn, destitute, naked, and sick, and some of them died there. The representatives of the city of Volterra that need inhabitants for their Maremma, came to visit them in Leghorn, but they found them in such bad shape and so useless that they did not want them. Moreover the Moriscos did not want to stay, and they left with the leader who had brought them here.[39]

Nevertheless, the failure of the first phase of contacts with the Moriscos staying in southern France did not discourage Tuscan authorities, and even the Grand Duke himself, from launching a second attempt, which took shape at the beginning of January 1614. From the start, important figures within the

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intermediary between hidden Moriscos in Spain and those of the diaspora (AGS, Estado, Sicilia, leg. 1170, fol. 52).

37 Temimi, *Études d'Histoire Morisque*, op. cit., p. 58 (doc. No. 18). The same appears in the report of the nuncio in Florence to the Cardinal Scipione Borghese in Rome, Asv, *Segr. St., Firenze*, 15A, c. 418*r–v*, date September 13, 1611, quoted in Pomara, "La diaspora morisca," op. cit., p. 165.

38 Some sources in the Vatican archives studied by Bruno Pomara, "La diaspora morisca," op. cit., p. 167 mention the figure of 36 families for a total 130 individuals. See Pomara also for other reports of the presence of Moriscos in Leghorn after 1610.

39 "Dei Moreschi scacciati di Spagna ne arrivò a Livorno un poco numero, disgratiati, tutti ignudi, et tutti ammalati, et ve ne morì qualchuno, et i Volterrani che hanno bisogno d'habitatori nella lor Maremma, mandorno a visitargli in Livorno, ma gli trovarno tanto male stanti, et inutili, che non si curorno altrimenti d'haverne, et i Moreschi ancora non restavano volentieri, tal che da loro stessi se ne andorno con il Capo che gl'haveva condotti." ASFi, Mediceo del Principato, f. 3503.

Tuscan administration were involved. As testimony of this plan, nineteen letters survive, signed by Antonio Martelli, governor of Leghorn since 1609.

The entire correspondence of the governor is directed to Curzio di Lorenzo da Picchena (1554–1626), who, after having served as secretary to the Spanish delegation between 1579 and 1583, became head secretary to Cosimo II, succeeding Vinta, who died in 1613. The governor's role was to be the Grand Duke's direct representative in Leghorn, and thus to keep him informed almost daily concerning events in this important commercial hub of Tuscany.[40]

At this point, it was no longer a matter of attracting merchants or the more fortunate among the Morisco community, but only of convincing workers and peasants to come. Moreover, the anticipated settlement was to be strictly limited to the swampy, uncultivated zones of the Maremma, around Grosseto. A prolonged stay by Moriscos in Leghorn itself was to be avoided at all costs. The governor of Leghorn would thus intervene primarily as the official in charge of the port from which the Moriscos would be dispatched toward rural locales in the regions of Grosseto and Siena.

This time the Grand Duke seems much more determined to bring the project to fruition. Based on his letter of January 3, 1614, it is clear that he personally ordered the Portuguese consul to prepare a list of Moriscos interested in establishing themselves in Grosseto. This appeared to encourage optimism about the success of the initiative. Martelli wrote: "As for the Moriscos, they go willingly, and to be sure it is fortunate for them and well considered, since, as in Spain they were good farmers, here they will work the highlands and make themselves useful in other ways in the countryside."[41]

The Portuguese consul in Leghorn and his nephew[42] appears in all of Martelli's letters to the Grand Duke's secretary as the key persons in the entire project, despite the fact that Martelli's judgment of them is not the most

40 On the governors of Leghorn, cf. Marcella Aglietti, *I governatori di Livorno dai Medici all'Unità d'Italia. Gli uomini, le istituzioni, la città*, Pisa, 2009. Martelli was named by Cosimo II on 12 November 1609 and remained in the post until September 1617, when he was succeeded by Inghirami, going on to become a general of artillery. He fought the Turks at Malta.

41 "Quanto alli moreschi loro vanno volentieri, et certo è la ventura loro et è stata una buona pensata perché come in Spagnia erano buoni lavoratori di terre piglieranno a lavoro delle tebrre alte che vi sono lagiù et altre cose in campagna che li daranno grande aiuto." ASFi, Mediceo del Principato, 2143, c. 245.

42 The consul not having any children, his nephew acts as substitute for the consul in case of illness or indisposition.

flattering.[43] The Portuguese consul is never designated by name, but it not hard to identify him as Sebastião Rodríguez (not to be confused with his namesake, charged in 1537 with the immigration of New Christians who wanted to leave Antwerp for Italy). His nephew is most likely the same Francesco Tommaso who in 1624 aspired to the post of Consul in Leghorn.[44]

Concerning the early history of the Portuguese consulate in Leghorn little is known, beyond the fact that it was instituted in the late sixteenth century.[45] To be sure, around this time ship captains were replaced by consuls as representatives of the mercantile interests of the various foreign nationalities active in the port. It should be emphasized that the consul was not a diplomatic representative like an ambassador, but only an intermediary between the merchants of his nation and the Grand Ducal power. It was the consul's responsibility to register new immigrants from his nation and at the same time to control who entered Leghorn, given that whoever was recognized by a consul as a member of a certain nation was no longer considered a mere foreigner, but was entitled to a specific legal status, and was protected by the laws of the Grand Duke.[46]

There is no doubt that the Portuguese consul Sebastião Rodríguez was himself a New Christian, as the trial of María de Castro, suspected of Judaizing in Pisa in 1611, attests. María de Castro informed the Inquisition of Pisa that Sebastiano or Bastiano Rodríguez, "left Lisbon condemned by the Holy Office, and an aunt of his was burned, back in our homeland."[47] However, Rodríguez was not one of those New Christians who longed to return to Judaism, like

43 On 22 April 1614 Martelli describes the consul as not entirely trustworthy: "I find this consul to be a shrewd fellow, as Your Lordship will understand by his actions" [*io trovo che questo consolo è un furbo come vostra signoria intenderà per le sua attioni*], (ASFi, Mediceo del Principato, 2143, c. 141).

44 Francisco Javier Zamora Rodriguez, "Privato versus pubblico. L'attività dei primi consoli spagnoli nella Livorno granducale," *Nuovi Studi Livornesi*, 17 (2010), p. 45. Of the same author see also his recent book, *La pupilla dell'occhio della Toscana, y la posicion hispanica en el mediterraneo occidental (1677–1717)*, Madrid, 2013.

45 On the consular institution in Leghorn, though for a later period, see Marcella Aglietti, *L'Istituto consolare tra Settecento e Ottocento. Funzioni istituzionali, profilo giuridico e percorsi professionali nella Toscana Granducale*, Pisa, 2012 and Giangiacomo Panessa, *Nazioni e consolati in Livorno: 400 anni de storia*, Livorno, 1998, where the Portuguese consulate is discussed in passing on pp. 31–32 and 59–60.

46 Lucia Frattarelli Fischer, "La livornina: alle origini della società livornese," in Adriano Prosperi ed., *Livorno 1606–1806: luogo de incontro tra popoli e culture*, Livorno, 2010, p. 43.

47 Adriano Prosperi, "L'Inquisizione romana e gli ebrei," in Michele Luzzati ed., *L'Inquisizione e gli ebrei in Italia*, Bari, 1994, p. 84.

many of his countrymen when they arrived in Italy. Prosperi reminds us of Rodríguez' unfriendly attitude toward those Portuguese New Christians he suspected of being insincere converts: "I am no friend of theirs, and do not talk to them, nor they to me. It is true that I take off my hat to them, but neither of us says anything to the other."[48] Despite contacts with informers inside the Portuguese community, it does not appear that he informed against New Christians of Jewish origin; but he did cause quite a bit of discomfort to Leghorn's governor, Antonio Martelli, by denouncing Moriscos who secretly practiced Islam directly to the Inquisition.[49]

Governor Martelli reported to the Grand Duke frequently, as attested by the nineteen letters from January to September 1614, some of them sent within a few days of each other. The fact that this second attempt at a Morisco settlement took shape during these months allows us to formulate certain hypotheses about the origin and socioeconomic condition of the Moriscos who were encouraged to come. They were most likely Moriscos who arrived in France after the "copious flood" produced by the expulsion orders of 1609–1611, many of them coming, almost certainly, from the Valley of Ricote, which had been excluded until the last moment from the expulsion in the Kingdom of Murcia.[50] The dispatches from Martelli, now housed in the state archive of Florence, begin in January 1614, at the same time that the galleys sent by prince Filiberto de Saboya were arriving, along with other ships, some of them Genovese. In

48 "Io non sono amico con essi, et non gli parlo, ne essi a me. È ben vero che io mi cavo il cappello et nessuno dice niente a l'altro." Adriano Prosperi, "Ebrei a Pisa. Dalle carte dell'Inquisizione romana," in Mihele Luzzati ed., *Gli ebrei de Pisa* (*secoli IX–XX*), Pisa, 1998, p. 141.

49 2 April 1614, ASFi, Mediceo del Principato, 2143, c. 151: "The Portuguese consul has given an account in my court of six Moriscos living as Mohammedans . . . The Inquisitor, to whose attention it was quickly drawn, sent an advisor here" [*Il consolo portoghese fece relatione nella mia corte de sei moreschi che vivono alla maomettana . . . Il padre inquisitore, che ne ha havuto ben presto notitia ha mandato qui un suo cancelliere*]. And also 24 April 1614, ASFi, Mediceo del Principato, 2143, c. 137: "The consul reported some Moriscos to the Inquisitor. They were examined by the Inquisition and released" [*il consolo accusò allo inquisitore alcuni de moreschi furono esaminati dalla inquisitione et liberati*]. Although the Jews (or Marranos) and Moriscos shared a similar plight, their attitude to one another was not necessarily sympathetic.

50 On the different phases of the expulsión, see Manuel Lomas Cortés, *El proceso de expulsión de los moriscos de España* (*1609–1614*), Valencia, 2012. For Murcia in particular, Jorge Gil, "Expulsión y destierro de los moriscos mudéjares del Reino de Murcia (1610–1614)," *Areas, revista internacional de ciencias sociales*, 30 (2012), pp. 65–82.

the Valley of Ricote the expulsion was declared complete on 20 February 1614.[51] The profile of these Moriscos expelled in 1614 is quite distinct from that of those who left Spain between 1609 and 1611.

The first migratory wave of Moriscos included men of elevated social standing, such as a certain *licenciado* Molina, who wrote from Algiers on 25 July 1611 to his friend Jerónimo de Loaysa, a nobleman of Trujillo, in Extremadura, explaining his failed passage through Leghorn the year before. He describes the Moriscos of his group as "merchants and many others with trades of public usefulness."[52] But those of the final expulsion were, according Francisco Flores Arroyuelo, "a *mudéjar* community from Murcia, from the upper valley of the Segura river, who devote themselves almost exclusively to agricultural labor and also to silk production . . . The Murcian *mudéjar* of the upper Segura river valley is primarily a farmer, cultivating irrigated lands and occasionally a stonemason or bricklayer."[53] Considering their status as *mudéjares antiguos*, they are in general well-integrated into Christian society; they travel with their entire families, and, having obtained permission to export half of their goods, are not for the most part indigent. Their characteristics probably differ little from those of Ricote, the character in *Don Quixote*, described as a modest shopkeeper, perfectly assimilated into Spanish culture: "Ricote, without his Morisco tongue tripping him up in the slightest, in pure Castilian pronounced the following discourse: '. . . amongst us there were some firm and true Christians . . . I know for certain that Ricota, my daughter, and Francisca Ricota, my wife, are Catholic Christians, and although I don't go that far, I'm still more Christian than Muslim.' "[54]

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51 Francisco Flores Arroyuelo, *Los últimos moriscos. Valle de Ricote, 1614*, Murcia, 1989, pp. 182 and 188.

52 "Mercaderes y muchos con oficios de República." The text of this letter appears in the appendix CXXXII of Florencio Janer, *Condición social de los Moriscos de España: causas de su expulsión y consecuencias que esta produjo en el orden económico y político*, Madrid, 1857, p. 351, with no indication of the source. Evidently it was taken from Fray Marcos de Guadalajara y Javier, *Prodición y destierro de los moriscos de Castilla hasta el valle de Ricote. Con las disensiones de los hermanos Xarifes y presa en Berbería de la fuerza y Puerto de Alarache*, Pamplona, 1614, as Márquez Villanueva noted in *Temas y personajes del Quijote*, p. 242.

53 Francisco Flores Arroyuelo, *Los últimos moriscos*, op. cit., pp. 105–107.

54 "Ricote, sin tropezar nada en su lengua morisca, en la pura castellana le dijo las siguientes razones . . . entre nosotros algunos había cristianos firmes y verdaderos . . . yo sé cierto que la Ricota mi hija y Francisca Ricota mi mujer son católicas cristianas, y aunque yo no lo soy tanto, todavía tengo más de cristiano que de moro." Miguel de Cervantes, *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, Francisco Rico ed., Barcelona, 1998, Part II, ch. 54, pp. 1071–74.

Despite the fact that the composition of the Morisco group awaiting embarkation from Marseille toward Leghorn was apparently favorable to integration into their future Tuscan home ("peasants and artisans, outwardly Christians, thoroughly assimilated, and not without means of sustenance"), Martelli's initially enthusiastic letters quickly gave way to painful disappointment and frustration. To begin with, two Moriscos were brought from Marseille to Grosseto to study, alongside the Portuguese consul, the conditions for establishing a community. Their report does not appear to have been very positive.[55] The Moriscos came, but in much smaller numbers than the Portuguese consul had led Martelli to expect. Forty-two Moriscos arrived in Leghorn on 22 April 1614, but upon disembarking, most of them refused to go to work in the swamps of Maremma. For their resistance, some were arrested. On 23 May, Martelli informed Florence that the few who had agreed to go to Grosseto had already returned to Leghorn, and he suggested that they be held in jail.[56] Martelli had begun to doubt the reliability of the Portuguese consul and wished to verify through other channels whether in fact any Moriscos ever arrived in Grosseto at all:

> As for the Moriscos that he [the Portuguese consul] says are coming from Provence, I will believe it when I see they are really here. I wrote a letter to the governor of Grosseto telling him that he should inform Your Majesty of their arrival and of the number of people brought there, and I have kept the list of names the consul gave me.[57]

Two days later, Martelli learned that the consul's nephew has indeed sent a Morisco from Leghorn to Marseille to convince other Moriscos scattered across Provence to embark with him for Italy. But by now the enthusiasm of the authorities had waned considerably, given that the few Moriscos who finally accepted the transfer to Grosseto had already escaped, preferring small scale trade, when all was said and done, to harsh farm work. And if all this were not enough, some of the few Moriscos who had reached Tuscany were beginning to have problems with the Inquisition. The consul told Martelli that he had discovered six Moriscos "living as Mohammedans," two of whom were already

55 ASFi, Mediceo del Principato, 2143, c. 251 e c. 131.

56 ASFi, Mediceo del Principato, 2143, c. 146, 23 May 1614.

57 "Quanto alli moreschi che lui dice che devono venire di Provenza et che lui dice haverli fatto intendere che venghino qua quando verranno qua ne crederrò. Io ho scritto una lettera al signor governatore di Groseto che dia aviso a vostra signoria dello arrivo suo et della quantità della gente che lui ha portata et mi sono tenuto la lista di nomi datami dal consolo." ASFi, Mediceo del Principato, 2143, c. 141–42.

under arrest, while the other four had managed to escape, perhaps to Pisa. Martelli turned the two detainees over to the Inquisition on 2 April 1614, underscoring in one of his letters that the Moriscos were feared to be behind a new spread of magical practices among Christians in Tuscany. He himself alerted civil and religious authorities of the discovery of a certain man from Prato, "on whom were found some writings with characters containing superstitious secrets to make oneself loved by the one to whom they are given . . . I will deliver him to you together with all that has been found on him."[58]

Despite the consul's denunciations to the Inquisition of other Moriscos in late April, the Holy Office decided to release those suspected of secretly practicing Muslim rites.[59] Even so, the main problem seems to have been the consul's deceit concerning the Moriscos' willingness to work as farm laborers.[60] The reply from the Morisco sent by the consul to Marseille to convince his fellows to settle in Tuscany was disappointing. He stated: "In Marseille, there are one thousand Moriscos that would come here and could be employed in the Maremma of Siena,[61] but they do not want to leave without money, as His Majesty may have heard on his own. Now, where we should get this money I do not know."[62]

After all these vicissitudes, how many Moriscos remained in Leghorn? Only three, if we can believe the report from the Portuguese consul's nephew, "one of them a shoemaker and the others masons."[63] In the month of September negotiations continue, with the goal of bringing a few hundred Moriscos from Marseille to the Maremma, but once again as soon as they reach Grosseto most of them escape without leaving any trace. On 3 September 1614, two Moriscos arrived from the Barbary coast to trade cloth in Leghorn, one of whom was the brother of the Morisco sent by the consul to Marseille; they declared that "they neither want to pass through Marseilles, nor do they want to go to Grosseto, where they have nothing to do, being not farm workers but traders

58 "trovate adosso alcune scritture con caratteri che contengono secreti superstitiosi da farsi amare da che li sia dato prigione . . . e però ghe lo consignarò con tutto quello gli è stato trovato addosso. " ASFi, Mediceo del Principato, 2143, c. 151.

59 ASFi, Mediceo del Principato, 2143, c. 143.

60 ASFi, Mediceo del Principato, 2143, c. 157.

61 According to Pierre Santoni, between fifty and sixty thousand Moriscos passed through Provence. Quoted in Bernard Vincent, "Moriscos," in Jordi Canal i Morell ed., *Exilios: los éxodos políticos en la historia de España, siglo XV–XX*, Madrid, 2007, p. 71.

62 "A Marsilia sono da mille moreschi, che verebbono qua, e sarebbono buoni per la Maremma di Siena ma non si vogliono levar di là senza denari si come vostra signoria potrà haver sentito da lui stesso: hora di dove si devino cavare denari io non lo so." ASFi, Mediceo del Principato, 2143, c. 121 dated 11 May 1614.

63 Ibid.

of merchandise."[64] The few who continued to trickle into Leghorn from Provence during the month of September had no desire to move on to the inhospitable region of the Maremma. From this moment forward we find no more documents on the Moriscos, so it is not difficult to conclude that this second attempt at creating a Morisco settlement in Tuscany failed just as the first had done.[65]

Reasons for Failure

The documents analysed up to now restore the voices of various protagonists involved in the settlement plan, from the Moriscos themselves, to the authorities of the State, the Grand Duke, governors, agents of the Inquisition, consuls, and various intermediaries, such as diplomatic and commercial representatives. To the actors in the episode the reasons for the failure of the Tuscan plan were quite clear.

Part of the blame for the failure of the project, according to some, fell to the Moriscos themselves, for several reasons. First, they were too recalcitrant in their rejection of the humble work available in the Tuscan countryside, as the aforementioned licentiate Molina indicated when he recalled that the Moriscos had been invited to Leghorn only "in order to use us to work in the fields and for other vilifying tasks."[66] Second, they were unable to find interlocutors capable of representing their collective interests.[67] The problem of

64 "Se ne vogliono passare a Marsilia, né altrimenti vogliono andare a Grosseto, dove essi non hanno che stare, non sendo lavoratori di terre, ma negotianti in mercantie," ASFi, Mediceo del Principato, 2143, c. 186, 3 September 1614.

65 There have been attempts to establish a rough evaluation of the numbers of Moriscos who landed in Italy. Manuel Lomas Cortés, "I moriscos," op. cit., pp. 706–707, calculates on the base of lacunar and problematic evidence provided by embarking registers in Spain that 5839 Moriscos departed from Spanish ports directed to Italy, 1,8% of the total figure of the expulsion that according to Lapeyre was around three hundred thousand. This number does not include those who reached Italy via the continent, i.e. France, nor the fact that many indicated when embarking fictitious destinations although bound for Berbery or made more or less long stop overs in other ports. Leghorn in any case was not the main destination directly from Spain, and most of the Moriscos preferred Genova, Civitavecchia and Naples as their first goal.

66 Janer, op. cit., p. 351 "para servirse de nosotros en cultivar el campo y otros oficios viles, y avia la mas gente que no lo sabian hazer, ni estavan enseñados á estos oficios."

67 Michel, *Histoire des races maudites*, op. cit., p. 160, also mentions several cases of offerings organized to pay for passage aboard ships sailing from France for Africa, stolen by the very leaders into whose keeping they had been entrusted.

intermediaries appears clearly in the words of governor Martelli when he proposes, with evident skepticism:

> It would be well for those heads of estates and their agents to decide among themselves to send an experienced man, provided with some letter to whoever is judged most appropriate in Marseille, who could undertake to bring the greatest number possible of the said Moriscos back here with him. Otherwise, in my opinion, we will not get any to come.[68]

Third, they were fearful and suspicious of any Christian authority.[69] The news concerning the enslavement of many of their compatriots must have discouraged the potential settlers to accept the invitation of the Tuscan agents into the Grand-duchy. This motive, along with the two preceding ones, also helps explain the high degree of insubordination and rebelliousness that characterized the attitude of those few Moriscos who arrived in Leghorn and from there went on to Grosseto. Fourth and last, it appears that the Moriscos tried to demand exorbitant subsidies to pay for their journey to Tuscany. As the governor relates: "They do not want to leave without money, as His Majesty may have himself heard. Now, where we should get this money I do not know."[70]

Tuscan authorities undeniably also share responsibility for the failure of their own project. In the first place, the correspondence of the Grand Duke's officials shows just how strong their prejudices were regarding the Moriscos, who were referred to as "treacherous folk . . . obstinate in their diabolical belief."[71] Writing from Marseille, Pesciolini described them as "accursed people."[72]

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68 "Fusse bene che queli massari e faccendieri ristretti fra loro resolvessero mandare huomo di garbo, et ancho accompagnato con qualche lettera a chi più fosse giudicato a proposito in Marsilia per cercare di levare la maggiore quantità di detti moreschi, che fosse possibile, e condurli qua, che in altro modo in giudizio mia non haveremo," ASFi, Mediceo del Principato, 2143, c. 121, May 11, 1614.

69 On June 30, 1610 Pesciolini writes that "one must be very diplomatic because they are extremely suspicious and fearful" [*il faut être très diplomate parce qu'il sont très soupçonneux et peureux*]. In a similar vein, in his letter of 1 October 1610, he explains that the Moriscos, "did not come to Leghorn and Pisa" [*ne sont pas venus a Livourne et a Pise*] when they discovered that "the Grand Duke is kinsman to the King of Spain" [*le Grand Duc est parent du Roi d'Espagne*]. Temimi, *Études d'histoire morisque*, op. cit. p. 59 (docs. No. 3, 20).

70 ASFi, Mediceo del Principato, 2143, c. 121, May 11, 1614. The problem of transportation costs was mentioned as well by Pierpelatti on July 21, 1610. Cf. Temimi, *Études d'histoire morisque*, op. cit., p. 54 (doc. 6).

71 ASFi, Mediceo del Principato, f. 4941, c. 261 r et v.

72 Temimi, *Études d'histoire morisque*, op. cit., p. 53 (doc. 5).

Reflecting similar prejudices, the governor, Martelli, considered them *a priori* liars,[73] while the Portuguese consul accused them of "subterfuges." Beyond such doubts about their integrity, what very likely worked against them was the tendency to lump them together with the already considerable population of Muslim slaves in Leghorn. Indeed, Martelli even wrote to the Grand Duke, "that for His Majesty's own good, none of these Moriscos should stay here unless he is locked up."[74]

It should not be forgotten that precisely in the years that concern us here, a statue of Grand Duke Ferdinand I was erected in the port of Leghorn, around which the sculptor Pietro Tacca famously added four enchained Moors between 1622 and 1626, as a symbol of the Grand Duchy's supremacy over the Barbary states and in recognition of the fact that the Moors (and by extension Moriscos) were in the last analysis political enemies of Tuscany. It is true that Muslim merchants of Morisco origin, attested in Tuscan archives, enjoyed complete freedom of movement in the Grand Duchy;[75] nonetheless, the majority of the Moriscos found in Leghorn and Pisa were slaves, captured, like many other Turks, Arabs, and Berbers, by corsairs in the Grand Duke's service.[76]

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73 ASFi, Mediceo del Principato, 2143, c. 157, 27 April 1614.

74 "Sono di opinione che per il bene di sua altezza serenissima non ce ne stia mai nessuno di questi moreschi se non alla catena," ASFi, Mediceo del Principato, 2143, c. 146, letter of 23 May 1614, where a petition from the Moriscos is rejected without explanation.

75 Some of them are known to us through the studies of Mikel De Epalza, "Moriscos et Andalous en Tunisie au XVIIe siècle," Mikel De Epalza, R. Petit eds., *Recueil d'études sur les Moriscos andalous en Tunisie*, Madrid-Tunis, 1973, pp. 150–186, such as Muhammad ibn Faraj Al-Andalusi and Ahmat Gierbun from Tunis. They are mentioned also by Pomara, "La diaspora morisca," op. cit., p. 171; Santus, "Moriscos a Livorno," op. cit., pp. 739–740; G. Calafat and C. Santus, "Les avatars du 'Turc'. Esclaves et commerçants musulmans à Livourne (1600–1750)," in Jocelyne Dakhlia ed., *Les Musulmans en Europe occidentale au Moyen Age et à l'époque moderne: une intégration invisible*, Paris, 2011.

76 Such as Caterina Buonanno, whose case has been studied by Lucia Frattarelli Fischer, "Ritratti di donne dai processi dell'Inquisizione: Rachele e Antonia portoghesi, Caterina schiava morisca e Sara Nunez, 'donna e rabina'," in Lucia Frattarelli Fischer and Olimpia Vaccari eds., *Sul filo della scrittura. Fonti e temi per la storia delle donne a Livorno*, Pisa, 2005, pp. 350–354, and now again by Pomara, "La diaspora morisca," op. cit., pp. 189–192 and Santus, "Moriscos a Livorno," op. cit., pp. 735–736. Slaves of Morisco origin often turn up as the property of Jews in Italy, for example the cook from Granada in the service of the Copia Sulam family of Venice. Known to them as the "*marrana negra*," she played an important part in denouncing the lady of the family to the authorities of the Venetian Republic for heterodox conduct. Don Harran, *Sarra Copia Sulam: Jewish Poet and Intellectual in Seventeenth-Century Venice*, Chicago, 2009, p. 56.

Therefore, it is not hard to understand why, when faced with the demand for money on the part of the free Moriscos in exchange for their agreement to come to Italy, the Grand Duke and his ministers were tempted to scrap the plan altogether, since for the same expense they could buy Muslim slaves, at that time so numerous in any Italian port.[77] Finally, the stereotype that all Moriscos were mere laborers, common in Spain as well, would not have helped the Tuscan authorities to comprehend the much more complex socioeconomic reality, which included artisans and traders.

However, to understand the underlying reasons for the failure of the Grand Duke's Project, we have to insert the information culled from the archives into the broader political context of the western Mediterranean and compare the treatment of the Moriscos with that received by New Christians of Jewish origin.

Mediterranean Context

It has often been repeated that what sealed the fate of the Moriscos on the Iberian Peninsula was the twelve-year-long truce with Holland and the declining Ottoman influence in the western Mediterranean.[78] Nor did the political constellation of the decade following the expulsion favor the possibility of the Moriscos' finding refuge in the states of Christian Europe, not even in the Tuscany of the Medici. Temimi's studies reveal the Turkish state's inability to exert sufficient pressure on European powers to guarantee the safety of Moriscos passing through their lands. The only interlocutor with whom the Ottoman Empire still had some leverage was the Republic of Venice, which had strategic interests in the eastern Mediterranean.[79] In fact, if anything, Tuscan policy toward the Ottomans was likely prejudicial to Moriscos' interests, since Cosimo II took an aggressive stance, striving to defend Tuscany's com-

77 According to Bernard Vincent, "Moriscos", in *Exilios: los éxodos políticos en la historia de España, siglo XV–XX*, Jordi Canal i Morell ed., Madrid, 2007, p. 72, "in Palermo in 1611 there were many Morisco slaves from the kingdoms of Valencia or Aragon, or from Hornachos." Mikel Epalza, "Moriscos et Andalous en Tunisie au XVII^{e} siècle," *Études sur les moriscos andalous en Tunisie*, Madrid, 1973, speaks of slaves of Morisco origin ransomed in Genoa in 1631.

78 Leonard P. Harvey, "The Moriscos and their International Relations," in *L'Expulsió dels Moriscos: Conseqüències en el món islàmic i en el món cristià*, Barcelona, 1994, pp. 135–139.

79 Abdeljalim Temimi, "Une lettre du Sultan ottoman Ahmed I au Doge de Venise en 1614 au sujet des Morisques," *Revue d'Histoire Maghrébine*, 7–8 (1977), pp. 7–14, 259–161.

mercial interests in the East through anti-Ottoman alliances.[80] Between 1613 and 1618, and again in 1634, the Grand Duke offered political asylum, first in Leghorn and later in Florence, to the Druze leader Fakhr Ad-Din II, also known by his Italianized name of Faccardino, who sought to liberate the mountains and coastline of Lebanon from Turkish control.[81] In France, Maria de' Medici, aunt of the Grand Duke Cosimo II, had established a pro-Spanish policy, firmly oriented in favor of the Habsburgs, similar to that of the Grand Duke of Tuscany. The sixteenth century is doubtless the century of greatest Spanish influence in Italy.

How to explain, then, that in a context dominated by Spain, a plan was under consideration, with the consent of the Spanish authorities, to provide refuge for those who had just been expelled from the Iberian Peninsula? The answer, in my opinion, has to do with the concept of reason of state, formulated by Giovanni Botero, which governed the decisions of both the King of Spain and the Grand Duke of Tuscany.[82] As a matter of fact, in his work, Botero often referred to the Morisco question. In particular, in book five of *The Reason of State* he dealt with the course of action a prince who had heretical or infidel subjects should take, justifying their expulsion in the name of the religious unity of the Christian state, as something *honestum* (appropriate), but at the same time trying to avoid any harmful consequence to the kingdom's interests (which Botero calls *utile*).

Botero's thought could have served perfectly in the Spanish case to justify the measure of the expulsion and in the Tuscan case to convince the exiles to settle in that country.[83] This is due to the fact that the "useful" in Botero's

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80 For a picture of commercial relations between Leghorn and the Islamic world during the seventeenth century, Renato Ghezzi, *Livorno e il mondo islamico nel XVII secolo. Naviglio e commercio de importazione*, Bari, 2007.

81 The most recent study about this figure is by Kaled El Bibas, *L'Emiro e il Granduca. La vicenda dell'emiro Fakhr ad-Din II del Libano nel contesto delle relazioni fra la Toscana e l'Oriente*, Firenze, 2010. See also documents on this figure at the AGS, Estado, Sicilia, leg. 1166, fol. 80, 83, 102, 127, 129.

82 Botero's principal work on "reason of state," appeared in Italian in 1589, and was translated into Spanish by Antonio de Herrera with the title, *Diez libros de la Razón de Estado, con tres libros de las causas de la grandeza y magnificencia de las ciudades*, Madrid, 1593.

83 Among the scholars who have used the concept of reason of state to explain the policy of admission of New Christians of Jewish descent into different Italian States, Benjamin Ravid, "Venice, Rome, and the Reversion of New Christian to Judaism: a Study in *ragione di stato*," in Pier Cesare Ioly Zorattini ed., *L'identità dissimulata. Giudaizzanti iberici nell'Europa cristiana dell'età moderna*, Florence, 2000, pp. 151–193; Idem, "A tale of three cities and their 'raison d'état': Ancona, Venice, Livorno, and the competition for

thought (and indeed in the entire intellectual tradition that José Fernández-Santamaría groups under the heading of "*arbitristas*") is defined in terms of the twin principles of "*conservation* and *increase*" of the state.[84]

To *conserve* itself, first of all, a State must unite its subjects under a single religion. Unity of faith is not here understood as an instrument of power, as Machiavelli considered it when he justified the expulsion of the Jews by the Catholic Monarchs in 1492, but rather as a pre-condition for the very existence of the state. In this sense, it might be said that the expulsion of the Moriscos in 1609 was justified precisely as a question of national emergency and was decreed at the highest level, in contrast to the opinion of the Inquisition and apparently against the opinion of Pope Paul V (Camillo Borghese, 1605–1621).[85]

To *increase*, moreover, a State needs to augment its wealth; according to Botero, the first resource of a State is its people. Even before the expulsion of the Moriscos, Botero took an interest in the measures needed to repopulate areas of Spain that had been left almost entirely uninhabited.[86] The contradiction

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Jewish merchants in the sixteenth century," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 6/2 (1991), pp. 138–162.

84 José Fernández-Santamaría, "Reason of State and Statecraft in Spain (1595–1640)," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 41, 3 (1980), pp. 355–379.

85 On the attitude of the Holy See concerning the expulsion of the Moriscos, see Carlos Pérez Bustamante, "El Pontífice Paulo V y la expulsión de los moriscos," *Boletín de la Real Academia de Historia*, 129 (1951), pp. 219–233; Bernard Vincent, "Le nonce et les morisques," in *Mélanges Cardaillac*, Tome II, 1995, pp. 675–699 and more recently Manuel Lomas Cortés, "Tra negoziazione politica ed emigrazione forzata. Roma, i moriscos e la loro espulsione," *Quaderni storici*, 144 (2013), pp. 689–714 and Stefania Pastore, "Roma y la expulsión de los moriscos," in *Los moriscos: expulsión y diaspora*, op. cit., 2013, pp. 127–148. However, Bruno Pomara Saverino, "Presenze silenziose. I moriscos di fronte al Sant'Uffizio romano (1610–1636)," *Quaderni storici*, 144/3 (2013) has brought forward significant evidence of the ambivalence of the Pope concerning the Morisco question. While not entirely satisfied with the theological implications of the general expulsion edict, Paul V decreed in 1612 the removal of those Moriscos who had found refuge in the State of the Church and the prohibition of their landing in its ports.

86 It is interesting to note that the King of Spain, Philip III, writes to his ambassador in Rome, Francisco de Lemos, Conde de Castro (1579–1637 in order to check the possibility of bringing Greek immigrants to fill the void left by the expulsion of the moriscos (AGS, Estado, Roma, leg. 994, letter of March 7, 1610 and leg. 1862, 1874. Also AGS, Estado, Milan y Saboya, leg. 1900, fol. 71). In the same year a project to bring Bavarian settlers is also examined by the authorities of the Kingdom (AGS, Estado, capitulaciones con la casa de Austria y negociaciones de Alemania, Sajonia, Polonia, Prusia y Hamburgo 1493–1796, leg. 2496). Moreover, the Spanish Crown examined in the month of October 1570 a plan

between interests of conservation and increase is only a question of numbers: in Spain the Moriscos were too many and represented a threat to the state; in Tuscany, a few hundred Moriscos who agreed to declare themselves Christians represented an economic resource, not a danger. This would go some way toward explaining the difference in treatment in two political situations, which while distinct were both equally concerned with maintaining the confessional character of the State.

In Spain the Morisco nucleus was too large for the Crown to continue ignoring the danger it represented for the confessional character of the Iberian monarchy. All considerations of a purely economic and utilitarian nature could not help being relegated to a secondary plane, with no possibility of being taken seriously. Moreover, the allegedly higher birth rate of the Morisco community represented not an advantage but actually a danger for the monarchy. It changes nothing to categorize positions toward the expulsion into those who deny any economic costs (such as Jaime Bleda and Aznar Cardona)[87] and those who, acknowledging that there were costs, nonetheless viewed them as the lesser evil (the Portuguese Damián Fonseca and the Dominican Marcos de Guadalajara).[88]

In the Tuscan case and probably also that of France, a similar logic, based on reason of state in Botero's sense, favours a welcoming attitude toward the Moriscos. Certain that their numbers do not cross a threshold sufficient to render them a threat to the Christian, confessional character of the State, and only on condition that the candidates for immigration maintain at least a formal loyalty to Christianity,[89] Moriscos are accepted, always and exclusively

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to establish a colony of Moriscos in the Spanish presidium of La Goulette in Tunisia to solve its demographic crisis (AGS, Estado, Sicilia leg. 1133, fol. 44 and leg. 1140, with the disapproval of Don Juan de Austria concerning this possibility in 1573). On the problem of abandoned lands by the Moriscos, but only relatively to those who left in the aftermath of the Alpujarras revolt, see Manuel Barros Aguilera and Margarita Birriel Salcedo, *La repoblación del reino de Granada después de la expulsión de los Moriscos*, Granada, 1986.

87 María Luisa Candau Chancón, *Los moriscos en el espejo del tiempo*, Huelva, 1997, p. 34.

88 Marcos de Guadalajara, *Memorable expulsión y justísimo destierro*, Madrid, 1613, p. 39. Guadalajara perceived the hardship of repopulation and the loss of income to the nobles, but justifies himself precisely in terms of Botero's thesis.

89 Concerning the integration into the national community of people who privately practice one faith while publicly professing another, it is possible to perceive a difference between the policy of the Tuscan Grand Dukes and that of Philip III of Spain. The latter follows the letter of Botero's advice that if the conversion of the Muslims did not succeed they would have to be forcibly sent to other lands (*Ragion di Stato* fol. 120). Tuscany tends to a more

for commercial and demographic motives, or as Martelli put it in 1614, "to populate the Maremma with Moriscos."[90]

This project, then, cannot really be taken to represent the first example in European history of recognition for the legitimacy of a permanent Muslim settlement in the heart of a Christian society. In the new city of Leghorn, the Medici never intended to establish an entirely anachronistic model of civil tolerance, an example of that "humanité americaine" of which Braudel speaks with reference to the Tyrrhenian port, anticipating what today we would describe as the "global village."[91] On the contrary, what Giuseppe Marcocci writes is closer to the truth: "Far from challenging the Catholic values of the Counter-Reformation, the Medici state chose a pragmatic and opportunistic strategy: the Grand Dukes' benevolence had to be repaid in commercial and financial terms."[92] I would add that the whole project was only undertaken on condition that the priority given to demographic increase of the city did not alter the confessional character of the state. In any case, the treatment of the Morisco question by Tuscan authorities, rather than demonstrating the existence of an assumed, but not proven, link between mercantilism and the principle of tolerance, shows on the contrary the coexistence between different communities based on *ad hoc* medieval-type corporatist compromises.[93]

For this reason, the cooperation between Tuscan and Spanish authorities should not surprise us. The Spaniards themselves, once the expulsion of the

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indulgent interpretation, in accordance with Justus Lipsius, who, despite the importance he attributed to religious unity to ensure the stability of the State, called for radical measures only against those who openly, even ostentatiously, practiced a religion different from the majority. Cf. Antonio Feros, *Kingship and Favoritism in the Spain of Philip III, 1598–1621*, Cambridge, 2006, p. 200.

90 ASFi, Mediceo del Principato, 2143, c. 121, letter of 21 May 1614.

91 Fernand Braudel and Ruggero Romano, *Navires et marchandises à l'entrée du Port de Livourne (1547–1611)*, Paris 1951, p. 25.

92 Giuseppe Marcocci, "Itinerari marrani. I portoghesi a Livorno nei secoli dell'età moderna," in Adriano Prosperi ed., *Livorno 1606–1806: luogo de incontro tra popoli e culture*, 2010, p. 412.

93 In the line of the revisitation of the concept of tolerance in the seventeenth century as it appears in Carlo Ginzburg, "Tolleranza e commercio. Auerbach legge Voltaire," *Quaderni Storici*, 37 (2002), pp. 259–283; Lucia Frattarelli Fischer and Stefano Villani, "People of Every Mixture: Immigration, Tolerance and Religious Conflicts in Early Modern Livorno," in Katherine Isaacs ed., *Immigration and Emigration in Historical Perspective*, Pisa, 2007, pp. 93–107 and aforementioned work by Francesca Trivellato, where she argues that cross-cultural trade could coexist easily with religious prejudice and intolerance.

Moriscos was complete, considered various options for resolving the problems of certain groups of Moriscos, for example by means of their reintegration in Spanish territories of the Mediterranean, and in particular in the Spanish crown's Italian possessions. Trevor Dadson mentions the 480 Moriscos sent by the Duke of Medina Sidonia to Italy from Tangiers, where many of them feared being killed by Muslims. During what Dadson defines as the third expulsion of the Moriscos of Spain, the Count of Salazar suggested to the Duke of Lerma in May 1613 that the women and children be sent to Italy, and the men to the galleys.[94] Meanwhile Don Pedro Girón, Duke of Osuna, viceroy of Sicily, unsuccessfully attempted to establish a Morisco colony on the island. Again the basic principle was followed: small groups of a few families and on condition that they agreed to remain Christians.[95]

In this case, we see the differentiated application of the concept of reason of state, which explains the apparent contradiction, to which Luis M. Linde has drawn attention without attempting to explain it, between the Duke's approval, on the one hand of the general expulsion of the Moriscos and his repeated efforts before the Court, on the other, to aid those exiles who arrived in Sicily, helpless and abandoned, by allowing them to settle on the island with the support of the Spanish crown.[96]

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94 Trevor J. Dadson, *Los moriscos de Villarrubia de los Ojos* (*Siglos XV–XVIII*): *historia de una minoría asimilada, expulsada y reintegrada*, Madrid, 2007, pp. 470 y 504. The principle of scattering the Moriscos, deporting them to other territories belonging to the state, where they would not have posed a demographic threat, was formulated by Botero himself, and already had been applied to those of Granada after the War of the Alpujarras.

95 A list of Morisco children brought to Sicily can be found in M.P. Fernández De Pinedo, P.J. Pidal and M. Salvá eds., *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España*, Madrid 1842–1895, v. 44, pp. 132–138. The only study on the morisco presence in Sicily is Louis Cardaillac, "El problema morisco en Sicilia," in *VII congreso de Hispanistas*, Venice, 1980, pp. 265–271, based exclusively on Inquisitorial sources at the *Archivo Histórico Nacional* in Madrid.

96 Luis M. Linde, *Don Pedro Girón, duque de Osuna: la hegemonía española en Europa a comienzos del siglo XVII*, Madrid, 2005, p. 74. A similar logic helps explain the ambiguity of the Spanish monarchy with respect to merchants of Converso origin, treated favourably once they no longer represented a threat to the confessional character of the State, as shown, for example, by Nicolas Broens, *Monarquia y capital mercantil: Felipe IV y las redes comerciales portuguesas* (*1627–1635*), Madrid, 1989.

Comparison with the Jews

To understand the difference in reception faced by New Christians of Jewish and Muslim origin in Tuscany, it is necessary to keep in mind the different perceptions of the two groups—the Jews were considered merchants with excellent international commercial networks, while the Muslims were considered at best good laborers, at worst dangerous rebels. But first and foremost we should not forget the change in political climate towards New Christians in general, produced between the moment in which the first Leghorn constitutions (the *Livornina*) were granted under Fernando I and the period of Cosimo II, when the first contacts were made with Moriscos travelling through France.

During Cosimo II's reign, the *Livornina* was interpreted in ever more restrictive terms. Significantly, beginning in 1602, the following admonition was added to the extant copies of the Leghorn constitutions in Grand Ducal archives: "not to be copied or shown" (*non se ne dia copia ne' vista*), which contradicts the spirit of public transparency that prevailed in the moment of their original promulgation.[97] Contrary to what was promised the Jews a mere twenty years earlier, nothing in the documents I have consulted allows for the supposition that the Moriscos would have had any opportunity to choose, at the moment of disembarking in Leghorn, whether to declare themselves Muslims or to live as Christians. The only option available to them at this time, if they wished to be admitted in Tuscany, was to present themselves as Christians. Therefore, any of them suspected of secretly practicing Islam would fall under the jurisdiction of the Inquisition. At the same time, New Christians of Hebrew origin who declared themselves Christians on arrival at the port of Leghorn could also be persecuted by the Inquisition if found to be Judaizing.

Prior to the reign of Cosimo II, civil authorities of the Grand Duchy had tried to limit the action of the tribunal of the Holy Office with respect to Judaizers; however, beginning around 1610 Tuscany saw a hardening of inquisitorial repression directed against those whose religious identity was unclear. Not only was any practice of Islam among the Moriscos not tolerated but also, as studies of the Pisa inquisitorial tribunal by Adriano Prosperi and by Pier Cesare Ioly Zorattini have shown, after 1609 the persecution intensified of all New Christians suspected of Judaizing.[98] Precisely the name of the Portuguese

97 Lucia Frattarelli Fischer, "La livornina: alle origini della società livornese," in *Livorno 1606–1806: luogo di incontro tra popoli e culture*, Adriano Prosperi ed. or (ed.) p. 43.

98 This can be seen in the case, discussed above, of María de Castro, in spite of the positive outcome for the accused.

consul appears in the margin of one of the most important trials of this period, whose goal is to put an end to any religious ambiguity.

It is no accident that at this time the Portuguese consul's prerogative of naming candidates for Tuscan naturalization is revoked. This occurs in a context in which New Christians are obliged to choose between integration into the local Jewish community or assimilation into the Christian collective, renouncing any affiliation whatsoever to a distinct nationality. The prerogative of the Portuguese consul, writes Lucia Frattarelli Fischer, "was short-lived, in favor of the insertion of Christian merchants into the mainstream of the city, along with the return of the others to Judaism as part of the Jewish community of Leghorn."[99] In the inquisitorial documents studied by Cardaillac, no Morisco appears after 1639, most likely because those who remain in Italian territory have either assimilated to the Christian population, in which case they are now identified simply as Spaniards; or else they identify themselves as Muslims from Islamic homelands, to avoid being accused of apostasy, having been baptized Christians in Spain, and later expelled as secret Muslims.[100]

When the Moriscos arrive in Leghorn it is no longer enough for them to keep a low profile, as far as their personal religious creed is concerned, to benefit from the tolerance and protection of civil authorities. The *Livornina*, decreed in 1593 by Ferdinando I, had guaranteed the Jews freedom of worship, but by 1610 the moment for a relative freedom of conscience has passed, as the experience of the Moriscos shows. In 1615, the Rome Inquisition chose to consider the *Livornina* valid only under the sovereign who promulgated it, not legally binding in the long term. The privileges granted to New Christians of Jewish origin thenceforth would not be modified, but their interpretation would be more restrictive, forcing them to choose, upon arrival, a definite and inflexible religious identity, under penalty of being turned over to the Inquisition.

It is worth insisting upon a fact that has not received sufficient attention from historians. The *Livornina*, despite its impressive and apparently ecumenical promises, was not very successful among New Christians of Iberian Jewish origin and completely failed to attract to Tuscany the Jews expelled from

99 Lucia Frattarelli Fischer, "Cristiani nuovi e nuovi ebrei in Toscana fra Cinque e Seicento", in *L'identità dissimulata*, Firenze, 2000, p. 106. She mentions only two consuls: in 1607 a certain Andrecche, Portuguese though born in Antwerp, and, beginning in 1609, Rodríguez.

100 Louis Cardaillac, *Morisques et Chrétiens: un affrontement polémique* (*1492–1640*), Paris, 1977.

Lombardy.[101] At the turn of the seventeenth century, there were just over one hundred Jews present in Leghorn. The real transformation would only come with the concession in 1614 of the right to "*ballottazione*," that is, the Grand Duke's recognition of local Jewish authorities' power to accept or reject new members, granting them Tuscan citizenship in the process. This privilege would be utilized throughout the seventeenth century by the Iberian element of the Leghorn Jewish community to maintain their ethnic cohesion, to the detriment not only of the Italian Jews enclosed in ghettos in Siena and Florence, but also to that of poorer Jews or those with no professional credentials.

It is undoubtedly to this right of *ballottazione* that we must attribute the extraordinary demographic increase in the Leghorn Jewish community, thanks in particular to the flood of Jewish immigrants of Spanish origin, but on the other hand we should not forget that in this way the Medici managed to restrict its privileges to only those candidates for immigration whose religious identity was not open to discussion. Placing the issue in the hands of the Portuguese, as in times of the consul Rodríguez, favoured the entrance into Tuscany of people who still had not decided whether to live as Christians or to remain faithful, either in public or in secret, to other religions. For this reason, I am of the opinion that the right of *ballottazione*, far from being, as it is usually understood, a highpoint of Medici tolerance, in fact represents just the opposite, a tendency, fundamentally opposed to the original spirit of the *Livornina*, in favor of limiting the space of religious ambiguity. It is thus no surprise that beginning in 1610 we find a renewed persecution in Tuscany of New Christians suspected of having remained somehow faithful to their ancestral Judaism, and a corresponding flight of many of them toward other places, such as Venice or Amsterdam, where they will have to declare themselves clearly in favour of either Judaism or Christianity.

Conclusion

Obviously much work remains to be done, not only in the search for additional documentary sources that would shed new light on other aspects of the Grand Duke's settlement project, but also in the study of Morisco migrations throughout the territories of the Italian Peninsula. In effect, the Tuscan episode

101 On the historical exceptionality of the *Livornina* Attilio Milano, "La costituzione livornina del 1593," *Rassegna Mensile d'Israel*, 1968, pp. 394–410.

presents various points of contact with similar plans in Apulia[102] and in Sicily,[103] and with the asylum offered to Morisco refugees in other Italian cities, such as Mantua,[104] Venice,[105] Rome,[106] and Naples.[107] Despite the marginal character of the passage through Leghorn of a few hundred refugees, within the larger history of the Morisco diasporas, a reconstruction along the lines attempted here of the history of the Morisco settlement in Tuscany between 1610 and

102 Mikel Epalza, *Los moriscos antes y después de la expulsión*, op. cit., p. 293 explains that, "the idea of creating agricultural colonies with the expelled Moriscos came up again some years later in Italy, in 1619, when a bishop who hoped to save the souls of those who had gone to Algiers, since 'they remained Christians at the bottom of their hearts,' presented a proposal for settling them in Apulia, near the port of Bari, on the Adriatic coast."

103 See note 95.

104 Mikel Epalza, *Los moriscos antes y después de la expulsión*, op. cit., p. 294. See also Pomara, "Presenze silenziose," op. cit., pp. 720–721.

105 Janer, *Condición social* op. cit., p. 319. See also Abdeljelim Temimi, "Politique ottomane face à l'expulsion des morisques et leur passage en France et à Venise," *Revue d'histoire maghrebine*, 79–80 (1995), pp. 397–420; Giorgio Rota, "False Moriscos and True Renegades: Spaniards and Other Subjects of the King of Spain in the Records of the Santo Uffizio of Venice (How to Become a Renegade)," in *España y el Oriente islámico entre los siglos XV y XVI* (*Imperio Otomano, Persia y Asia central*) *Actas del congreso Università degli Studi di Napoli l'Orientale, Nápoles 30 de septiembre–2 de octubre de 2004*, Estambul, 2007, pp. 175–206; Pelizza, " 'Venezia e il passaggio dei moriscos," op. cit., pp. 779–812. Some interesting documents seem to have escaped the attention of these scholars concerning the arrest of two Moriscos in Venice and their transfer by the ambassador of Spain in Venice, Francisco de Vera y Aragon, to Milan and then to Cartagena in 1593 (AGS, Estado, Milan y Saboya, leg. 1273, fol. 50–51 and AGS, Estado, Venecia, leg. 1543, fol. 28, 30, 40, 41; leg. 1345, fol. 32, 36, 56).

106 Jaime Bleda, in his *Corónica de los moros de España*, Valencia, 1618, Ch. XXXVI, maintains that there were many Moriscos in Rome. One of the more important was the Jesuit father Ignacio de las Casas about whom see Youssef El Alaoui, *Jésuites, Morisques et Indiens. Étude comparative des méthodes d'évangélisation de la Compagnie de Jésus d'après les traités de José de Acosta* (*1588*) *et d'Ignacio de las Casas* (*1605–1607*), Lille, 2003. On the presence of moriscos in the Papal States see Lomas Cortés, "Tra negoziazione politica ed emigrazione forzata," op. cit., and Pomara Saverino, "Presenze silenziose," op. cit. Various Arabic manuscripts in the Vatican library are of Morisco provenance. Cf. Epalza, *Los moriscos antes y después de la expulsión*, op. cit., and Giorgio Levi della Vida, "Manoscritti arabi di origine spagnola nella biblioteca vaticana," in *Collectanea Vaticana* in honorem Anselmi Card. Albareda, Citta del Vaticano, 1962.

107 According to Pomara, "La diaspora morisca," op. cit., p. 178, Naples hosted one of the most important morisco community in the Italian peninsula: "A ben vedere, l'insediamento morisco partenopeo può considerarsi tra i più rilevanti in Italia."

1614 permits interesting applications of the criteria of reason of state with respect to confessional and ethnic minorities. It also provides a yardstick to clarify differences in the reception of distinct groups of New Christians within an ongoing consolidation of Counter-Reformation confessionalism, part of the governance framework of a nation like Tuscany, whose role as one of the earliest examples of religious tolerance in the modern period has surely been exaggerated.

CHAPTER 10

From Mooresses to Odalisques: Representations of the Mooress in the Discourse of the Expulsion Apologists

Mercedes Alcalá-Galán

By giving the present essay the title "From Mooresses to Odalisques," my intention is to play tangentially with a revised notion of Orientalism and, within the context of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spain, to identify the wealth of perspectives by which women within the realm of Islam were represented. More specifically, my aim here is to reflect on the characterization by Christians of the Morisca during the period surrounding the expulsion of the Moriscos—a series of depictions that, as we'll see, had little to do with the reality of these women. It ought to be borne in mind that from 1502 until 1613 the Moriscos were the object of a complex and specific process of internal colonization. Thus the representation of Moriscas inevitably reflects the process of religious, social, political and cultural subjugation experienced by this minority of "New Christians converted from Moors."

Representations of these Morisca women interest me because they are based on a set of apparently incongruent stereotypes that somehow reflect the doubts, insecurities, desires and ambivalences regarding notions as to what was viewed as inherently "Morisco" in a Spain that simultaneously identified with and rejected this part of itself. In effect, Moriscas were often characterized as highly sexualized beings capable of provoking reactions both of repulsion and attraction. Hence they were not only agents of corruption and seduction but also victims incapable of protecting themselves from their subaltern nature and from their sexual condition. Moriscas comprised half of a population subject to distinct political strategies in the sixteenth century,[1]

1 The *pragmática* of 1566 stipulated, among other things, that Moorish clothing had to be abandoned within two years, women were to have their heads uncovered in public, the sacrifice of domestic animals for consumption was absolutely prohibited (the animal slayer had to be an Old Christian even if he was not specialized in doing so), houses had to remain open on Fridays, Saturdays and holidays, the use of henna as a feminine adornment on hands and feet was forbidden, weddings and baptisms had to be performed in accordance with Christian rites and would have Old Christian godfathers and godmothers, bathing was prohibited and

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yet a half that would be almost invisible in documents, memorials, and edicts, and that, from its silent existence, would bear the weight of social exclusion and of the distinct political and religious measures addressing the so-called "Morisco problem." In fact their invisibility transcends their historical existence and continues in academic studies: apart from a few important exceptions such as the investigations of Mary Elizabeth Perry and Bernard Vincent, very little attention has been paid to gender differences in the field of Morisco studies that has proven to be so rich in seminal contributions to the knowledge of this minority.[2]

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the existing baths were to be destroyed, and customary Morisco dance and song as well as everything that implied a difference in daily customs were forbidden. For example, the preference for olive oil over lard for cooking would be seen as suspicious behavior in inquisitorial trials, as would cleanliness and changes of clothing (see, for example, the inquisitorial trial against Diego Díaz and his wife María del Castillo in Mercedes García-Arenal, *Los moriscos*, Madrid, 1975, pp. 271–284). Moreover, perhaps the hardest part to comply with was the prohibition of spoken and written Arabic within three years: such a virulent attitude against the language, the only language that many people spoke, condemned to silence a large part of the population (especially affecting women largely confined to their domestic spheres), subjecting it to persecution on various charges by the Holy Office or ordinary courts of justice. The *pragmática* of 1566 culminated a series of measures forbidding language and customs, beginning with an edict in 1511 that marked a definitive turning point towards policies that openly deviated from promises of respect for the cultural identity made by the Catholic Monarchs in the capitulations of 1492 and declared that New Christians "no longer have memory of Moorish things." It is also important to remember that the *pragmática* of 1566 was based on that of 1526, which was not enforced because the Moriscos of Granada amassed the incredible sum of 90,000 ducats that Charles V accepted in exchange for his good will in this regard. Something similar occurred in Aragon, where, in 1526, a secret agreement (publicly revealed in 1528) was reached whereby, in exchange for 40,000 ducats and voluntary submission to baptism, the Moriscos would be exempt from persecution by the Inquisition and could maintain many of their customs (Henry Kamen, *Una sociedad conflictiva: España, 1469–1714*, trans. Fernando Santos Fontela, Madrid, 1995, pp. 278–79). Nonetheless, the hour of truth came with the *pragmática* of 1566, which nullified the legal validity of any document written in Arabic. Many Moriscos in fact lost their titles of property and there ensued a legal chaos, much to their disadvantage, with the result that the language of a large part of the Morisco community was declared virtually inexistent for any purpose. These legal measures were followed by incidents as tragic and definitive in Morisco history as the war of the Alpujarras (or war of Granada) of 1568–70, the dispersion of the Moriscos from the Kingdom of Granada after the Christian victory, and, above all, a growing harassment of the Morisco minority that would culminate in the expulsion of 1609–14.

2 See Mary Elizabeth Perry, *The Handless Maiden. Moriscos and the Politics of Religion in Early Modern Spain*, Princeton, 2005, and Bernard Vincent, "Las mujeres moriscas," in Georges

The institutional and social attack on the Morisco *habitus* or way of life situated women in the center of this repression and often made them the nucleus of forced and sometimes involuntary resistance through the lack of access to other traditions and customs that included food, clothing, adornment, hygiene, dance, song, festivity, ritual, language and names, and all of this without including beliefs and aspects of daily life directly related to religious faith. The problem to which these women were subjected is difficult to imagine: suddenly, and by force of an edict, they not only had to embrace a faith of which many of them lacked the most basic knowledge, but many were also obliged to abandon the only language they knew, depending on the community they belonged to and their access to a social sphere outside the home. Nonetheless, although religion and language appear to have been the most insurmountable obstacles for obeying the law, the prohibition in the new *pragmáticas* of a multitude of daily activities was no less daunting: they had to change what they ate, how they cooked, how they dressed and adorned themselves, how they treated illness in the family, how they were assisted in childbirth, how they cared for their sick, how they prepared their dead for burial, how they combed and treated their hair, how they dressed for marriage, how they sang, how they celebrated, how they appeared in public, how they washed themselves, what they called themselves and their children, and how they had to renounce domestic knowledge learned from their mothers and imitate, from a social distance, that of Old Christian women.

Even Christian authors such as Diego Hurtado de Mendoza echo this situation. In his *Guerra de Granada* he rewrites almost verbatim the arguments of the well-known *Memorial de Núñez Muley* (1567), emphasizing even more if possible the vulnerability to which Moriscas were exposed through the ordinances prohibiting basic customs that regulated modesty, safety and cleanliness which for them was the equivalent of Old Christian women's adornment and luxury:[3]

> Our wives, our daughters, go with their faces covered, to serve and provide what is necessary for their homes. They are ordered to uncover their faces: if they are seen they will be coveted and wooed, and the ones who excite the depravity of young and old men will be revealed. We are ordered to keep open the doors that so much religion and care on the part of our forebears kept closed—and not only doors but also windows

Duby and Michelle Perrot eds., *Historia de las mujeres en Occidente. Del Renacimiento a la Edad Moderna*, Madrid, 2006, vol. 3, pp. 614–626.

3 Mercedes García-Arenal, *Los moriscos*, pp. 47–56.

> and any other openings. Are we to be exposed to thieves, malefactors, brazen and shameless adulterers, who can know what days and times to rob our property, offend us and violate our honor? Not only do they take from us our safety, our property, our honor, our service, but also our entertainment and customs, both those that were introduced by the authority, reputation and display of happiness in weddings, *zambras*, dances, music and food, as well as those that are necessary for cleanliness, important for health. Will our women live without baths, which were introduced so long ago? Will they be seen to be sad, dirty and ill in their homes where they once held cleanliness to be a source of happiness, pride and health?[4]

The zeal of ecclesiastic and civil authorities against the Morisco *habitus* was shown in direct measures against women as in the well-known case of Antonio de Guevara who, "when he was bishop of Guadix, wanted to have women's heads shaved among those living in the marquisate of the Cenete, and to have the henna scraped from their hands. When they [the Moriscos] went to complain to the president and judges and the marquis of Mondéjar, they [the authorities] met and sent an official to warn him not to do so, since it was a matter that had little to do with questions of faith." As Núñez Muley explains, the use of henna was not only an adornment but also hygienic and cleanly, since it was "used to clean the head because it wipes away the dirt from it and is thus healthy."[5] In fact, Morisco practices of hygiene, adornment and cleanliness

4 Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, *Guerra de Granada*, Madrid, 1970, p. 118: "Van nuestras mujeres, nuestras hijas, tapadas las caras, ellas mismas a servirse y proveerse de lo necesario a sus casas; mándanles descubrir los rostros: si son vistas serán codiciadas y aun requeridas; y veráse quien son las que dieron la avilanteza al atrevimiento de mozos y viejos. Mándannos tener abiertas las puertas que nuestros pasados con tanta religión y cuidado tuvieron cerradas; no las puertas, sino las ventanas y resquicios de casa. ¿Hemos de ser sujetos de ladrones, de malhechores, de atrevidos y desvergonzados adúlteros, y que estos tengan días determinados y horas ciertas, cuando sepan que pueden hurtar nuestras haciendas, ofender nuestras personas, violar nuestras honras? No solamente nos quitan la seguridad, la hacienda, la honra, el servicio, sino también los entretenimientos; así los que se introdujeron por la autoridad, reputación y demostraciones de alegría en las bodas, zambras, bailes, músicas, comidas; como los que son necesarios para la limpieza, convenientes para la salud. ¿Vivirán nuestras mujeres sin baños, introducción tan antigua? ¿Veránlas en sus casas tristes, sucias, enfermas, donde tenían la limpieza por contentamiento, por vestido, por sanidad?"

5 Mercedes García-Arenal, *Los moriscos*, pp. 52–53: "siendo obispo de Guadix, quiso hacer trasquilar las cabezas de las mujeres de los naturales del marquesado del Cenete, y rasparles la alheña de las manos; y viniéndose á quejar al Presidente y oidores y al marqués de

were seen as proof of their moral filthiness: anti-Morisco propaganda linked the proverbial Morisco *pestilence* to the care of the body, which could only be a way toward sensual corruption at the expense of spiritual purity.

For the apologist Pedro Aznar Cardona (who already in 1612 speaks of the Moriscos in the past tense), the animalization of the Moriscos is brought about by practices of hygiene on the part of women, who are characterized as little less than animals, filthy and repulsive, while at the same time they are obsessed with the suspicious vice of washing themselves:

> They [the men] were depraved in their reasoning, bestial in their speech, barbarous in their language, ridiculous in their apparel [...], and the women were likewise so [...], always walking lightly and unencumbered, with little clothing, almost in underwear, but the young ones very combed, washed and clean. They were beasts with their food, always eating on the ground (like who they were) without a table, without anything else that made them resemble humans, sleeping in the same way on the ground [...] so as to be more ready for their debauchery, and to get up and eat and fornicate during all their waking hours.[6]

One could readily affirm that the association of bodily hygiene with lust implies an Old Christian prejudice against the intimacy toward one's one body, which for the Christian morality of that period represented above all the *flesh* and its demons, that is, temptation dictated by the desires of the body. Control over the flesh was attained through ascetic practices that subdued and distanced the enemy body from the soul—thanks to penitential pain.

In his *Antialcorán*, Bernardo Pérez de Chinchón expressed very clearly the concept of bodily hygiene as equivalent to spiritual uncleanliness:

> The second commandment is: that before the Moor goes to pray he washes his whole body and the filthiest and ugliest parts of it, as if the body were to sully the soul. It would be better to send them to clean the soul and wash it with tears of repentance than to tell them to wash the body. Do you know what follows from that washing of the body? The soul gets filthy, becoming carnal and lustful as it tends to the body and washes it, which I believe you know very well since you place your

Mondéjar, se juntaron luego sobre ello, y proveyeron un receptor que le fuese a notificar que no lo hiciese, por ser cosa que hacía muy poco al caso para lo de la fe"; "costumbre para limpiarse las cabezas, y porque saca cualquier suciedad dellas y es cosa saludable".

6 Pedro Aznar Cardona, *Expulsión justificada de los moriscos españoles*, Huesca, 1612, p. 230.

> entire paradise in the flesh. [...] Washing yourself out of cleanliness, when cleanliness is filthy, I don't know what purpose it has. And if you ask me why we wash ourselves in baptism, I say to you that it happens only once in life, and with great mystery.[7]

In her study of the inquisitional trial against a Morisca named Madalena accused of washing herself early in the morning in the shared patio—in the belief she was unseen by the two witnesses who accused her—Mary Elizabeth Perry explores the fact that for many Moriscas there existed a relationship to their own body dictated by an almost inescapable cultural tradition. As Perry points out, the Morisco community was a mute minority whose thought and opinions left few traces, yet we have access to many descriptions and value judgments in the inquisitional archives through accounts of the treatment, culture and relationship of the Morisco—and especially the Morisca—with the body.[8] Examples of this found in inquisitional records include ablutions, clothing, meals, circumcision of newborn boys, cleaning and taking care of the dead, preparation of brides for their weddings, births (which had to be attended by Old Christian midwives), domestic medical practices administered by women, etc. As can be seen, the process of exclusion of the Morisco minority began by the identification of differences in the way of life with respect to the Old Christian majority so as to later prohibit all difference and end up proscribing all identitary attributes in the *modus vivendi* of a community that, much as it might have wanted to, necessarily could not deny itself until it disappeared. The Moriscas were of course most affected by the pressure to erase every difference in their way of life and were those who put up most resistance, whether intentional or not, though almost always passive. As Bernard Vincent asserts, Moriscas were the object of an especially fierce persecution on the part

7 Bernardo Pérez de Chinchón, *Antialcorano. Diálogos Christianos*, ed. Francisco Pons Fuster, Alicante, 2000, p. 222: "El segundo mandamiento es: que antes que vaya el moro a la oración se lave todo el cuerpo y las partes mas suzias y feas dél, como si el cuerpo ensuziasse a la ánima. Mejor fuera mandarles a limpiar el ánima y lavarla con lágrimas de arrepentimiento que dezir que se lavassen el cuerpo. ¿Sabéys qué se sigue de aquel lavar del cuerpo? que se ensuzia el ánima haziéndose carnal y luxuriosa, tratando el cuerpo y lavándole, lo qual creo yo que vosotros sabéys bien, pues que todo vuestro paraýso ponéys en la carne. [...] lavarte por limpieza y ser la limpieza suzia no sé para qué es. Y si me dizes que para qué nosotros nos lavamos en el baptismo, dígote que esso es una vez en la vida, y con gran misterio."

8 Mary Elizabeth Perry, *The Handless Maiden*, pp. 38–64.

of the Holy Office, being sentenced far more often than men, thus evincing an exceptional ferocity on the part of the Inquisition.[9]

The relations between Moriscos and Old Christians can be glimpsed in part through the norms, attitudes and policies intended to regulate the interaction between women of each group with the men of the contrary group. One could speak of a sort of drive to domination through sexual access to the women of the "other", which men tried to avert in their own group by socially stigmatizing this kind of relationship. In general, in the context of the Morisco minority via the internal colonialism to which it was subjected, attempts were made through social norms and prejudices to prevent the access of Morisco men to Old Christian women even when Morisca women were coveted. There were, for example, laws dating back to Medieval times prohibiting Christian prostitutes from having sexual relations first with Mudéjars and then (after compulsory conversion) with Moriscos. However, Morisca prostitutes were highly esteemed in brothels for their supposed lewdness, as Bernard Vincent points out: "The brothels, as we know, housed many Moriscas and Mooresses from the other side (*moras de allende*), highly valued for their enchantments."[10] Given the nature of prostitution, the inexcusable intimacy with Old Christians aroused the suspicion of church authorities, especially after the rebellion of the Alpujarras, who viewed young Moriscas as potential spiritual corruptors. For example, Pedro Guerrero, archbishop of Granada, in his *Constituciones synodales* of the city (1573), denounces the houses of prostitution as places where, beyond the sins of the flesh, Christian faith could be corrupted through contact with Morisca prostitutes.[11]

On the other hand, from the Morisco side, attempts were made to prevent their women from marrying Old Christians.[12] For example, in a famous *fatwa*

9 Bernard Vincent, "Las mujeres moriscas" in *Historia de las mujeres en Occidente. Del Renacimiento a la Edad Moderna*, Madrid, 2006, vol. 3, p. 625.

10 Bernard Vincent, *Minorías y marginados en la España del siglo XVI*, p. 65.

11 Andrés Moreno Mengíbar and Francisco Vázquez García, "Poderes y prostitución en España (siglos XIV–XVII). El caso de Sevilla," *Criticón*, vol. 69 (1997) p. 47.

12 After having collaborated for years in the translations of the Lead Books of Sacromonte and just before escaping to Morocco in 1599, Aḥmad Ibn Qāsim al-Ḥajarī conversed with the archbishop of Granada, don Pedro de Castro y Quiñones, on the topic of mixed marriages: "... But you Andalusians follow a discreditable custom!" I asked him: "And what is this?" He said: "You only stick together. You do not give your daughters to the Old Christians and you do not marry women from among the Old Christians!" I told him: Why should we marry women from among the Old Christians? In the city of Antequera there was a man from my family who had fallen in love with a Christian girl. On the day they went to the church with the bride in order to conclude the marriage, the bridegroom had

Moriscos were advised to yield in everything except in allowing their women to mix with Christians: "If they marry you with their women, consider this to be lawful, since they profess a revealed religion. And if they oblige you to have your women marry them, make it known that this is forbidden and forcibly against your will, and that if it were in your power you would prevent it."[13] It is not surprising that in the context of the problematic relations between the two communities mixed marriages were rare and that, after a brief period of policies favoring assimilation in the sixteenth century, the social separation between Old Christians and Moriscos and the problems of having one's own descendants legally regarded as New Christians made mixed marriages very rare in most places. Thus it became difficult for Christian women and Moriscas to cross the barrier separating the two groups through interethnic marriage.[14] Nonetheless, for apologists of the expulsion like Aznar Cardona the sensuality of the "Moorish sect" implied a threat to the moral integrity of the Christian nation through its women, capable not only of seducing Christians but also of dragging them into marriages (improbable, as we've seen) that would corrupt not only lineages but also souls:

> They gave themselves entirely over to the vice of the flesh, so that the speech of both men and women as well as their conversation and

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to wear a coat of mail under his clothes and to take with him a sword because her family had sworn they would kill him on the road! Even years after he had married her, none of her family had visited her, but wished to see him and her dead! Marriage is not meant for man to make enemies, but friends and family!" He answered: "You have indeed told the truth!" Aḥmad Ibn Qāsim al-Ḥajarī, *Kitāb nāṣir al-dīn 'ala'l-qawm al-kāfirīn* (*The Supporter of Religion Against the Infidels*), trans. and ed. P.S. Van Koningsveld, Q. Al-Samarrai, and G.A. Wiegers, Madrid, 1997, pp. 90–91.

13 Mercedes García-Arenal, *Los moriscos*, p. 45: "Si os casan con sus mujeres, estimadlo cosa lícita, pues ellos profesan una religión revelada. Y si os obligan a casar con ellos vuestras mujeres, haced patente que tal cosa está prohibida, y que obráis forzados, y que, si tuvieseis poder para ello, lo cambiaríais."

14 "Moreover, promoting intermarriage between Old Christians and moriscos seemed to prohibit Old Christians from marrying one another, which violated natural law, as one cleric noted, and required 'pure' people to marry the 'impure'. Some Old Christians did marry moriscos, but much intermarriage must have been discouraged by the 'purity of blood' statutes that restricted certain offices, privileges, and university positions to people whose parents and ancestors did not include Muslims, Jews, or those who had converted to Christianity. In trying to protect the purity of Christian society, these laws actually undercut any Christian efforts to facilitate morisco assimilation." Mary Elizabeth Perry, "Behind the Veil," in Alain Saint-Saëns ed., *Spanish Women in the Golden Age: Images and Realities*, Westport, 1996, p. 41.

> thoughts and all their knowledge and diligence revolved around this [. . .]. From this were born many evils and the long perseverance in sin among Old Christians, and many headaches and afflictions for women, seeing their husbands or brothers or relatives blindly attached to callous Moriscas, for they held it to be permissible, and thus the worm of moaning conscience didn't upset them. [. . .] Worst of all was that some Old Christians, even presuming to be noble [*hidalgos*], disregarding self-interest married Moriscas and besmirched their scarcely clean lineages, and would to God this stain did not infect the soul.[15]

In the representation of the Morisca or of the Mooress various parallel trends can be identified: depictions of their exoticism and sexualization are offset by their fertility, and alongside a sublimated image of exquisite sensuality one sees a degrading portrayal that animalizes and converts her into a kind of uterus or womb that has to be symbolically controlled. In this sense the Morisca is perceived as an instrument capable of corrupting and contaminating the nation both because of her fertility and because she constitutes a temptation of the flesh for many Old Christians who might debase their blood on account of being seduced by her. We have already seen that, outside the sphere of prostitution, the relations between Moriscas and Old Christians were generally uncommon, and mixed families were few and far between in most regions. The other great myth, that of the monstrous fertility of the Morisco *nación*, was, more than anything else, a propagandistic tool repeated ad infinitum that justified the notion of a growing and unsustainable threat very skillfully manipulated to justify the expulsion. For example, Aznar Cardona sees the Moriscos as a lascivious race that deliberately uses lust as a weapon because it leads to the limitless multiplication of a minority determined to overcome Christians numerically and to subjugate them to an ever closer future: "Their intention was to grow and multiply in number like weeds, and truly, they had been so skillful at this in Spain that they no longer fit in the neighborhoods

15 Pedro Aznar Cardona, *Expulsión justificada de los moriscos españoles*, pp. 233–234: "Eran entregadísimos sobremanera al vicio de la carne, de modo que sus pláticas assí dellos como dellas y sus conversaciones y pensamientos y todas sus intelligencias, y diligencias, era tratar desso [. . .] De aquí nacieron muchos males y perseverancias largas de pecados en christianos viejos, y muchos dolores de cabeza y pesadumbres para sus mugeres, por ver a sus maridos o hermanos, o deudos ciegamente amigados con moriscas desalmadas que lo tenían por lícito, y assí no las inquietava el gusano de la conciencia gruñidora. [. . .] Lo peor era que algunos christianos viejos, aun presumiendo algo de hidalgos, por no nada de interesse, se casavan con moriscas, y maculavan lo poco limpio de su linaje, y plegue a Dios, no llegase la mancha al alma."

and villages, but rather occupied the rest of the places and contaminated everything."[16] Not only does he dehumanize them comparing them to weeds but he also animalizes the women: "they were idle most of the time, although at times they worked well, and their women conceived like rabbits and had their houses teeming with children, like anthills".[17]Along the same lines of this degrading discourse is a passage of Jaime Bleda in which we are told that a Morisca just before embarking goes into labor, and refusing the care and rest that she was offered, "as soon as she had given birth, as though she were a greyhound she walked onto the boat".[18] Nonetheless, this monstrous fertility that turns the Moriscas into pests capable of infecting Spain with the infinite progeny from the Morisca womb is highly hyperbolic, as Bernard Vincent has pointed out, since the study of censuses and diverse data shows that the Morisco population coincides with the ascending curve of the Spanish population in the 16th century, as the results of various studies "draw a demographic profile quite similar to that of Old Christians."[19]

But this discourse about the Morisca as an essentially sexual being sometimes also shows women as victims of the most heinous crimes. We are told, often out of insensitivity, of abuses and atrocious cruelties inflicted on these women by soldiers and Christian sailors. Especially sordid is Damián Fonseca's account of a captain and his crew who robbed and murdered all the Moriscos before reaching Africa. Many women threw themselves overboard before it was their turn to be executed. The captain reserved for himself a particularly beautiful Morisca whom he promised to save and protect. Despite enjoying her sexually during the entire voyage he threw her into the sea as the ship approached Barcelona, and seeing that she remained afloat he beat her to death with the edge of an oar while the Morisca, Christian in her final moments, entrusted herself to the Virgin of Monserrat: "the Catalan, more ferocious than a Hircanian tiger (since he was neither moved by the friendship he had with

16 Ibid., p. 233: "Su intento era crecer y multiplicarse en número como las malas hierbas, y verdaderamente, que se avían dado tan buena maña en España que ya no cabían en sus barrios ni lugares, antes ocupavan lo restante y lo contaminavan todo."

17 Ibid., p. 58: "… estaban ociosos la mayor parte del tiempo aunque a ratos trabajasen bien, y engendraban sus mujeres como conejas y tenían las casas bullendo de hijos, como hormigueros".

18 Jaime Bleda, *Corónica de los moros de España* [facsimile of the *princeps* edition of 1618], Valencia, 2001, p. 1001: "al punto que hubo parido, como si fuese una galga se fue por su pie a embarcar."

19 Bernard Vincent, *Minorías y marginados en la España del siglo XVI*, p. 52.

her before nor respectful of the Virgin to whom the pitiful woman appealed [. . .]), returned to the forlorn woman and killed her with the end of an oar."[20]

Of all the texts I have examined, the one that most interests me for its significant and, as it were, transparent incoherence is a work by the poet and apologist Gaspar de Aguilar.[21] In his extensive epic poem on the expulsion of the Moriscos he combines a kind of exoticist proto-Orientalism that idealizes and sublimates Moriscas as creatures of unique sensuality and beauty, on the one hand, with an extravagant narrative that conveys the greatest cruelties and degradations towards these women, on the other—and he does so with an affective distance hard to conceive were it not for the text's unqualified distinction between the good side, the Old Christians, and the bad side, the Moriscos:[22] "The impatient, choleric Spaniard / is not daunted by ferociousness, / for the great blasphemy of these people / closed the door to Christian piety" (vv. 2313–2316).[23] A kind of perverse pleasure manifests itself in the telling of the torments and unimaginable cruelties undergone by Moriscos at the hands of Old Christians. Far from eliciting compassion, this is explained as a divine punishment, an act of heavenly justice: "These and a thousand other

20 Damián Fonseca, *Justa expulsión de los moriscos de España, con la instrucción, apostasía y trayción dellos*, Roma, 1612, p. 288: "el Catalán, más fiero que una tigre de Hircania (pues ni lo movió la amistad que antes avía tenido con ella ni respetó el nombre de la Virgen que la miserable apellidava [. . .]), bolvió al puesto donde estava la cuytada y allí con el cabo de un remo la mató."

21 Gaspar de Aguilar, *Expulsión de los moros de España*, ed. Manuel Ruiz Lagos, Alcalá de Guadaira, 1999.

22 By alluding to Orientalism I do so aware that studies deriving from the work of Edward Said always link the concept to the European colonial context as of the late eighteenth century and especially the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Edward Said, *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient*, London, 1978, p. 17). In a prologue to the Spanish edition of *Orientalism*, Said himself recognizes that the extremely complex particularities of the relations of Spain with Islam cannot be reduced to a colonial relationship or to the existence of the Spanish empire. In my article "Erotics of the exotic," I affirm that from the Middle Ages and especially the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries there was a full-blown Orientalism in Spanish cultural manifestations that was by no means inscribed within a colonial or postcolonial context but rather in the coexistence and rivalry with the Ottoman Empire. It was this Ottoman presence that called for a system of commonplaces and representations of the "other" in the European imaginary. Mercedes Alcalá Galán, "Erotics of the Exotic: orientalism and fictionalization of the Mooress in the early modern Mediterranean," *Journal of Levantine Studies*, vol. 2.1 (2012) pp. 11–40.

23 "Al español colérico impaciente / ninguna cosa la fiereza allana, / que la grande blasfemia desta gente / cerró la puerta a la piedad christiana."

admirable things, / any of which rightly amazes us, / happen to the wretched Moriscos, / whom heaven intends to annihilate" (vv. 2369–2372).[24]

The portrayal of the Morisca in Gaspar de Aguilar's text is especially fascinating to me because it straddles two opposing conceptions of women within the sphere of Islam that, except in this work, never coincide in the same text: the Morisca as an animalized and dehumanized subaltern, and the sensuous, desirable and distant odalisque. This in effect gives rise to an orientalizing, idealizing discourse that merges with the degrading, dehumanized characterization of the Morisca that we have already seen. It is noteworthy that, with few exceptions, the Morisca practically disappears from seventeenth-century literature after about 1620 and is transformed through a rich imaginary into a slave, a Mooress, a Turk, a captive or a concubine. It is also necessary to point out the spatial, geographic dimension, the idea of displacement, of an ordinary *here* as opposed to a *there* in which any fantasy is possible. Scholars including Daniel Vitkus have questioned the notion of Orientalism as the direct outgrowth of a colonial context.[25] In my study "Erotics of the exotic," I explore the process of exoticization that the *mora* undergoes after the expulsion:

> The situation was diametrically opposed with respect to the Muslim woman in the Mediterranean. In this case the Mora was not in a subordinate position with regard to Christian culture, but on the contrary belonged to a world, the Ottoman Empire, with enormous military power that was a very real threat to Christian Europe. The Mediterranean was not only the stage for multiple encounters and misunderstandings, frictions and alliances, but was also an inexhaustible source of stories, events, adventures and fables that through the ages would create the design of what we recognize as Orient. Thus it is crucial to note the abysmal difference between the Morisca and the Mora: the former is at the lowest rank of society, deeply despised and seen as a threat for her monstrous fertility, not for her erotic powers, although she can be sexually used; the latter is the exotic, desirable, mystified, vilified and misunderstood woman of the mighty enemy.[26]

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24 "Estas y otras mil cosas admirables / que qualquier dellas con razón suspende, / suceden a los Moros miserables, / a quien el cielo aniquilar pretende."

25 Daniel J. Vitkus, "Early Modern Orientalism: Representations of Islam in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Europe," in David R. Blanks y Michael Frassetto eds., *Western Views of Islam in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Perception of Other*, New York, 1999, p. 210.

26 Mercedes Alcalá Galán, "Erotics of the Exotic," *Journal of Levantine Studies*, vol. 2.1 (2012) pp. 11–40.

Ideological presuppositions in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spain undoubtedly differed radically from the gaze towards the Orient generated in Europe as of the inception of French and British colonialism, yet precisely by taking such differences into account it is important to acknowledge the relevance of a strong exoticist tendency evident in the literary fiction of this period.[27] After the expulsion, with its literary treatment first of Moriscas and subsequently of Moorish and Turkish women, Spain was not only inventing an Orient from which to define itself as a Christian nation but also, in its treatment of the other embodied in the figure of the Mooress, it reflected the ambivalence and confusion produced by history itself of the relation between two worlds and their definitive, radical estrangement.

For Gaspar de Aguilar in his *Expulsión de los moros de España*, the Moriscas were blond like the lovely courtesans painted by Titian, tall, very white, adorned with innumerable jewels, with small and sensual feet, dressed with exotic silks and covered with gold, emeralds, pearls and luxurious ornaments on their hair, ankles, neck and wrists. Although the absurdity of this text is undeniable, its essential incongruence when representing Moriscas during the violence of the expulsion reveals to us with almost naïve transparency the mixture of prejudices, clichés, ideology, fantasies and projections that sustain this literary fabulation. As I have pointed out, this text is unique because within it are strangely and disturbingly conjugated the exoticist signs that figure in the representation of the odalisque, on the one hand, and on the other the dehumanized distance issuing from a degrading substratum with which the Morisca is

27 In his important book about the sexualization of the Orient, *The Erotic Margin*, Irvin Schick explores a terrain that Edward Said largely ignores in his *Orientalism*: the sexualization of the Orient as a necessary trope for the Occident, although always in a colonial context. It must be said that *The Erotic Margin* takes the colonial period beginning in the eighteenth century as a starting point, and focuses above all on Turkey, exploring, among other things, European pornographic production of the Orient. For Schick, Oriental sexuality inspires a series of commonplaces and stereotypes forged in the West. He argues that the theme of Oriental sexuality is nourished with a gamut of fictionalized elements such as the harem, the public bath, the slave market, concubines, eunuchs, polygamy and homosexuality. His critical contribution stems above all from his questioning of very rigid and one-dimensional interpretations of such a sexualization of the Orient. The division between West and East, colonizer and colonized and between masculine (Occident) and feminine (Orient), and the sexualization of the latter as symbolic domination, gives rise to a series of theories that are too reductionist, too rigid, and I would say too ideologically coherent, blocking pertinent questions because before we formulate them we have answers that claim to explain all relations between West and East. Irvin C. Schick, *The Erotic Margin: Sexuality and Spatiality in Alteritist Discourse*, London, 1999, p. 2.

portrayed before and during the expulsion. A Morisca named Tidora, for instance, is described in the following way:

> . . . a golden veil fashionably worn,
> covered with gold and silver jewelry,
> a beautiful Mooress appears
> in whom nature placed its great powers
> in verve, in loveliness and beauty.
>
> The spacious sea of her hair
> covers her shoulders with waves of gold,
> and with strings of pearls and emeralds
> she adorns the nacre of her white neck.
> She does not cover with the folds of her dress
> her comely foot, proportionate and lovely,
> for a slipper guards this treasure,
> of crimson velvet, with gold.
>
> As the sun of her eyes glows
> in that beautiful crystalline face,
> the snow of her arms appears
> from within the bracelets of fine gold. (vv. 1108–1124)[28]

28 [. . .] y un dorado almaizar revuelto al uso,
cubierta de zarcillos de oro y plata,
sale una bella Mora, donde puso
todo su gran poder naturaleza,
en brío, en hermosura y en belleza.

Cubre con ondas de oro sus espaldas
el espacioso mar de su cabello,
y con sartas de perlas y esmeraldas
adorna el nácar de su blanco cuello.
No cubre con los pliegues de las faldas
su hermoso pie, proporcionado y bello;
que una chinela guarda este tesoro,
de terciopelo carmesí, con oro.

Como el Sol de sus ojos resplandece
en aquel bello rostro cristalino,
la nieve de los brazos se parece
por entre las manillas de oro fino.

At the very least it seems strange to find so much gold, silver, jewelry and crimson velvet on a girl who is marching with her neighbors to embark and leave Spain forever. Gaspar de Aguilar insists in numerous passages of his text on the wealth of the Moriscos, and goes so far as to affirm that "the luxury and gallantry reach their extreme, / no one can express it in words, / because even the poor wear silk. // The *moras* who are least rich exhibit, / besides the beauty of their dresses, / mantles lined with brocade." (vv. 4038–4033);[29] and "A squadron of *moras* and *moros* / hears a thousand insults as it advances, / the men with riches and treasures, / the women with ornaments and gowns" (vv. 945–948).[30]

The lovely blond Tidora leaps from a cliff after seeing how Christian soldiers mortally wound her fiancé Audalla: "moved by a fury that incites her, / she throws herself and plummets down from that place" (vv. 1271–1272).[31] The theme of Moriscas leaping from cliffs alone or with their children, choosing a suicide that leaves their bodies dismembered and scattered is undoubtedly based on the violent episodes that occurred during the expulsion, as in the cases of the Muela de Cortes and the Sierra de Laguar. The painters Jerónimo Espinosa ("Rebellion of the Moriscos in the Sierra de Laguar", 1612–13) and Vicente Mestre (Rebellion of the Moriscos in the Muela de Cortes, 1613) depict, without the least sympathy, these Moriscas throwing themselves with their children into a void as details in both of these celebratory paintings of the expulsion. We also have horrifying descriptions of this occurring in the war of Granada (1568–70):

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29 "la gala y la braveza se remata, / no hay quien contarla ni escribirla pueda, / porque sólo los pobres visten seda. // Las Moras menos ricas han sacado/ demás de la belleza de los trajes, / bohemios aforrados de brocado."

30 "Un escuadrón de Moras y de Moros / va de todos oyendo mil ultrajes; / ellos con las riquezas y tesoros; / y ellas con los adornos y los trajes". A few stanzas earlier the text states: "Because with half of their treasures / they are richer than Midas and Creso" (vv. 908–909). Curiously, the disproportionate wealth that the author attributes to the Moriscos contrasts with other moments of the text more in accordance with the information we have about the process of expulsion, e.g., when the story says that the Moriscos sold their children to Spanish soldiers for a piece of bread and that they were so poor that they were dying of thirst and hunger along the way: "and many of their beloved children / they sold to our people, only / for a piece of bread / sometimes black, tasteless and made of chaff" (vv. 4205–4208). In the original text: "y cuántos a sus hijos tan queridos/ vendieron a los nuestros, solamente / porque de pan les diesen un pedazo/ y a veces negro, desabrido y bazo."

31 "movida de una furia que la incita, / de aquel lugar se arroja y precipita."

> Terrified at seeing such devastation and that no one could take refuge, not daring to wait until the last blow, standing at the edge of a high precipice that faced the sea, the *moras* embraced each other, and crying and painfully screaming they threw themselves down, landing down below in a thousand pieces. Other pitiful women, not daring to make such a dangerous jump, confiding in Christian mercy, made crosses with twigs, and knelt down, said trembling and crying: *I am a Christian, sir, I am a Christian*; but the diabolical squadron did not show the pity those poor women expected, but rather cut them to pieces or threw them over the cliff.[32]

The many allusions to Moriscas falling headlong over precipices, besides corresponding to a historical reality, form part of a collective imaginary that portrays the Morisca as the embodiment of the utmost desperation, isolated, with no defense or exit in her own land. Curiously, the pathos of this scene does not lead to any kind of sentiment that goes beyond superficial formulas. As spectators we envisage scenes of the most extreme cruelty and the mise-en-scène of a kind of intimate and profound violence born of witnessing the defenselessness and impotence not of a vilified and hated human group but of a beautiful and innocent Morisca. Tidora embodies an ideal of beauty and desirability stemming only formally from some feminine representations related to the tradition of maurophilia. In fact the idealized characterization of the "other" in this corpus of texts is radically opposed to the deviating exoticism of Gaspar de Aguilar,[33] who exoticizes a feminine subject, highly eroticized and idealized, in order to literally break it into a thousand pieces as if she were a shattered porcelain figurine:

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32 Ginés Pérez de Hita, *Guerras civiles de Granada*, Madrid, 1975, part 2, ch. 8, p. 610: "Otras cuitadas, sin resolución para dar tan peligroso salto, confiando en la misericordia cristiana, hacían cruces con palitos, e hincadas de rodillas, temblando y llorando decían: *a mí cristiana, señor, a mí cristiana*; pero el diabólico escuadrón no usaba de la piedad que aquellas pobres mujeres esperaban, antes las hacían pedazos o las echaban por las peñas abajo."

33 Important studies have focused on the Maurophilic genre and its essential idealism, including Francisco Márquez Villanueva, "El problema historiográfico de los moriscos," in *El problema morisco* (*desde otras laderas*), Madrid, 1991, pp. 98–195; María Soledad Carrasco Urgoiti, *Vidas fronterizas en las letras españolas*, Barcelona, 2005; and Barbara Fuchs, *Exotic Nation: Maurophilia and the Construction of Early Modern Spain*, Philadelphia, 2009.

the frightful *mora* falls down the mountain
rebounding on the rigid boulders.
Any one of them is moved to pity and cries
to see itself steeped in the color of rosy dawn,
for on all the mountain she left remnants
of a thousand beautiful pieces of alabaster. (vv. 1275–1280)[34]

Behind the gaze at the mutilated body of Tidora—described as "a thousand beautiful pieces of alabaster," not to mention the blood that stains the scene or the color of rosy dawn that tinges the rocks—is concealed an ineffable pleasure that intensifies with the tenderness and the weeping of the boulders. The text strives to emotionally manipulate the reader by means of the repeated technique of exalting and then destroying. The aim here is to reveal the cruelty, pain, humiliations and horrors that the Morisco people suffer *in addition to* the expulsión. The sordid narrative of the terrible destiny of the innocents accentuates the thesis of divine justice that ideologically animates the poem. For example, in another passage the fragmented remains of small children are described, and after confronting the reader with this atrocious image, we are told that the rocks are the *deserved* grave for these future enemies of Christianity: "On the nearby and more distant rocks / are scattered the pieces of these beautiful children / who, being tender, on the hard rocks / find their deserved graves" (vv. 2439–2440).[35]

Gaspar de Aguilar plays with the representation of an affable, good and beautiful world in the heart of the Morisco milieu, looking for the reader's sympathy toward defenseless beings. The glorification and then destruction of their women is a process that seeks to give us an idea of the magnitude of the tragedy, to the joy of Christians: Aguilar does not elicit compassion but rather adds to the punishment of the expulsion a profound intensity of suffering that can only be appreciated in the specifics.[36] In the details of individual

34 "baja del monte la espantable Mora / por escalones de peñascos yertos. / Cualquiera dellos se enternece y llora / por ver que están de rosicler cubiertos; / que por todo aquel monte dejó rastro / de mil bellos pedazos de alabastro."

35 "En las peñas remotas y cercanas / a pedazos están los niños bellos / que siendo tiernos, en las peñas duras / hallan sus merecidas sepulturas".

36 "As they wept for her dead husband, / a Morisca walks surrounded / by three children she has, pretty, handsome, / a boy of tender age the eldest of them. // One of them can hardly walk, / for being very small he was tired, / and so from time to time his mother / regaled him with her outstretched arm. // The other one gets tired, another on purpose / pretends to be foot-weary / and with love she resolves / to take all three in her arms and walk" (vv. 3869–3880). The original text reads: "Llorando entrellos a su esposo muerto / a pie

characters, of mothers, wives and widows, Moriscas are identified with universal values in a paradoxical process of humanization that aims for the opposite. At the end of these passages the text inevitably corroborates the traitorous nature of the Moriscos, the dangers they pose, their irredeemability and their intrinsic enmity despite the individual innocence of the feminine protagonists of these episodes. The main idea, repeated ad nauseam, is that the Moriscos deserve all the horrors and suffering they have been subjected to: "[…] for the sins / of the Moors unworthy of clemency / incited [God's] wrath and vengeance, / and so he seized the spear of his fury" (vv. 4441–4444).[37]

By way of conclusion I would like to examine a gruesome passage—like quite a few others—that provides a number of the keys with respect to the representation of the Morisca in this text.[38] It narrates what happens to a blond *mora*, like all of those of Gaspar de Aguilar, who remains nameless, with long hair that surrounds her beautiful neck. An Extremaduran soldier has made a pious promise to God: to kill three Moors and a Mooress that day, for which heroic resolution he is celebrated in the poem.[39] Motivated by his

va una Morisca, rodeada / de tres hijos que tiene, lindos, bellos, / niño de tierna edad el mayor dellos. // Apenas caminar el uno puede, / que por ser muy pequeño va cansado, / y así de rato en rato le concede / la madre el dulce brazo regalado. // Cánsase luego el otro, el otro adrede / finge estar del camino fatigado / y ella que con amor se determina / coge a los tres en brazos y camina."

37 "[…] que los pecados / de los Moros indignos de clemencia, / [A Dios] le incitaron a cólera y venganza, / y así empuñó de su furor la lanza."

38 José María Perceval comments on this passage in his book about xenophobia towards Moriscos. José María Perceval, *Todos son uno. Arquetipos. xenofobia y racismo. La imagen del morisco en la Monarquía Española durante los siglos XVI y XVII*, Almería, 1997, p. 281.

39 "The impatient, choleric Spaniard / is not daunted by savagery, / for the great blasphemy of these people / closed the door to Christian piety; / it seemed that almighty heaven / wants to avenge its sovereign Queen / of the impudent Moor who blasphemes / upon her supreme virginity. // Seeing that this rabble is confused, / the combat ends, and victoriously / a valiant Extremaduran soldier / pulls out three heads of Moors strung together. / When he sheathes his blood-stained sword / he remembers that to mighty heaven / he offered three Moors and a Mooress this day. // He pulls out his sword, and in a rush / he goes back to look for the promised Mooress, / and by miracle heaven offers him one, / recently wounded by a cruel spear. / In her, as she lies on the ground, / death is struggling with life, / and like a snake, the gold of her hair / is coiled on her breast and neck. // He stands as though spellbound / seeing that from within her an infant's arm / comes out through the penetrating wound / to ask for holy baptism. / No longer fearful or terrified, / seeing that she is pregnant, in that instant / he anticipates the birth with his dagger / to satisfy God with his love. // He pulls the children out from that predicament / that he is afraid even to imagine, / and keeping the propriety and respect / toward the religion he

devout pledge, and having already killed three Moors, he finds a beautiful Mooress, and when he is ready to kill her he discovers she has been wounded by a spear in the womb. Incidentally, the episode is reminiscent of the common practice of opening the bodies of Moriscos in search of possible treasures: "Some look for a Morisca because they think / she produces gold in the veins of her body, / and impatiently they rip from her / ears and earrings together"

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professes, baptizes them. / The three of them died together, / and to heaven that eternalizes their glory / the children ascend, and at that very moment / the mother descends to the frightful abyss. // As soon as this miraculous deed / ends with the glory of the children, / the husband of the beautiful Mooress comes / looking for her from far away; / and seeing his beloved wife dead, / there is no human force that can hold back his fury. / The Moor in his revenge looks like a tiger / pouncing on the astute hunter. // He comes upon the valiant soldier, / and without heeding anything at all / he enters by the point of the sword / and doesn't stop until he comes upon the hilt. / He falls next to his dead wife, / and his sad soul, which pays dearly / for the cruel vengeance he has thrown himself into, / departs mixed with red blood" (vv. 2313–2368).

The Spanish original reads: "Al español colérico impaciente / ninguna cosa la fiereza allana, / que la grande blasfemia desta gente / cerró la puerta a la piedad christiana; / que parecía que el cielo omnipotente / quiere vengar su Reyna soberana, / del atrevido moro que blasfema / de su virginidad alta, suprema. / Viendo que esta canalla se despista, / cesa el combate, y saca vitorioso / tres cabeças de moro en la cinta / un soldado extremeño valeroso. / Quando embayna la espada en sangre tinta, / se le acuerda que al cielo poderoso / ofreció, que en su nombre mataría / tres moros y una mora en este día. / Mete mano a la espada, y en un buelo / buelve a buscar la Mora prometida, / y una le ofrece por milagro el cielo / de una lanza cruel rezién herida. / En ella, que tendida está en el suelo, / luchando está la muerte con la vida, / y como sierpe, el oro del cabello / enroscado en el pecho y en el cuello. / Queda como si viera algún encanto, / viendo que en ella el braço de un infante / a pedir el Bautismo sacrosanto, / le sale por la herida penetrante. / Quítasele el temor, pierde el espanto, / por ver que está preñada, y al instante, / porque Dios de su amor se satisfaga, / el parto lo anticipa con la daga. / Saca los niños de aquel grande aprieto, / que solo imaginar lo atemoriza, / y guardando el decoro y el respeto / a la ley que profesa, los bautiza. / Murieron los tres juntos en efeto, / y al cielo que sus glorias eterniza, / suben los hijos, y al instante mismo / baxa la madre al espantable abismo. / En tanto que esta hazaña milagrosa / fin con la gloria de los niños tiene, / llega el marido de la mora hermosa, / que en busca della desde lexos viene; / y viendo muerta su querida esposa, / no hay fuerça humana que su furia enfrene. / Tigre parece el moro en la vengança, / que al caçador astuto se abalança. / Con el soldado valeroso junta, / y como en cosa alguna no repara, / de su espada se mete por la punta, / y hasta topar la guarnición no para. / Cae junto a su esposa ya difunta, / y el alma triste, a quien le cuesta cara / la vengança cruel a que se arroja, / sale mezclada con la sangre roja."

(vv. 2453–2458).[40] To his surprise, the soldier sees the hand of a fetus come out of the dying mother's womb asking for baptism: "and like a snake, the gold of her hair / is coiled on her breast and neck. // He stands as though spellbound / seeing that from within her an infant's arm / comes out through the penetrating wound / to ask for holy baptism." The soldier widens the wound with his dagger and finds two children, whom he baptizes *in extremis*. They perish immediately and ascend to the Christian heaven. Their mother dies, of course, and is eternally separated from her children as her soul descends to hell, the destination of all Moriscos. As if this were not enough, her husband, father of the children, attacks the valiant soldier after seeing the Dantesque scene, and heaven of course helps to annihilate the infidel who dies with the pain and impotence of having lost his family in this way. The passage ends, as always, with a justification of the cruelty whereby heaven treats the perfidious nation of Moriscos, which deserves infinite atrocities.

Thus behind the horror and a feigned compassion the poem moves on to the edifying retelling of the well-earned suffering of a people traumatically exiled from their land that is symbolized and embodied in the agonizing, open body of a woman about to give the world two more enemies. In this case the beautiful *mora*, blond and exotic, embodies that threatening womb capable of corrupting the nation since, true to her legendary fertility; she carries not one child but two. Divine providence puts things in their place: the family of Moriscos bears an apparent similarity with the Christian family and its values, but in reality is no more than the nest of the nation's corruption. The Morisca woman, despite her exoticism and implausible Petrarchan-style beauty, is no more than the incarnation of a monstrous uterus capable of infecting Spain with its fecundity—a nation that must protect itself from the deception of appearances. In sum, the patriotic promise of the soldier is awarded with the death of four enemies of Spain, three Moorish men and one woman as was foreseen, but with the salvation of two souls ransomed at the very limit of innocence. This work of Gaspar de Aguilar is in fact filled with sold, dead, dismembered, robbed and tortured children who undergo every kind of suffering as deserved as those of their parents. Nonetheless, what this passage shows us is that Moriscos are redeemable only before being born, only before being recognized and embraced by their people. Born through a wound from which they are pulled out of their mother's body, making impossible the life

40 "Quien busca una Morisca, porque piensa / que oro en las venas de su cuerpo cría, / y le arranca colérico, impaciente, / orejas y zarcillos juntamente. // Pero con todo su riqueza advierte, / y como está tan llena de tesoro, / viendo que es imposible de otra suerte, / quema la Mora por sacarle el oro."

of all three of them, the children can reach the glory of heaven, thus avoiding the infernal destination of their caste. The conclusion of this scene is worth repeating: "These and a thousand other admirable things, / any of which rightly amazes us, / happen to the wretched Moriscos, / whom heaven intends to annihilate" (vv. 2369–2372).

As we have seen, Gaspar de Aguilar deprives himself of no stereotype with respect to the representation of the Morisca. She is simultaneously an infidel condemned to hell, monstrously fertile while at the same time a beautiful and sensual victim of her own nature, which leaves her outside the terrain of compassion or empathy.

We have seen in these examples that the characterization of the "other" passes through the representation of women. By means of parallel processes of sublimation, exoticization as well as depersonalization, an imaginary and cliché-ridden world is created as though it were real. And it is in this imagined *locus*—a *locus* that may well be inscribed in the abstract body of the *mora*—where desires, fears and projections are negotiated, issuing directly from the specific history of a nation that attempts to extirpate the presence of the Moriscos from the roots of its identity.

CHAPTER 11

"This Thing Alone Will Preserve Their Nation Forever." Circumcision and Conversion in the Early Modern Western Sephardic Communities

Yosef Kaplan

The Confrontation with Those Who Refused to be Circumcised

Many Conversos left Spain and Portugal in the early modern period, but not all of them did so in order to live fully Jewish lives.[1] Some of the emigrants during the first half of the seventeenth century simply wanted to reach a safe haven in order to continue their business activities, which had suffered seriously because of the crises that afflicted Spain under the last monarchs of the Hapsburg dynasty.[2] Quite a few of the New Christians were also impelled by the spirit of adventure to take up a life of wandering or to travel to remote destinations, where they hoped to make their fortune. Others left the Iberian Peninsula because they had fallen victim to the purity of blood statutes, which were enacted in several institutions in Spain and Portugal, discriminating against people of Jewish or Muslim descent.[3] Paulo de Pina, for example, trav-

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1 Many examples of this can be found in the fascinating work of D.L. Graizbord, *Souls in Dispute: Converso Identities in Iberia and the Jewish Diaspora 1580–1700*, Philadelphia, 2004. This book deals mainly with New Christians who moved to the Kingdom of France and preferred to remain there, although they were not allowed to live openly as Jews. See also B. Pullan, *The Jews of Europe and the Inquisition of Venice, 1550–1670*, Oxford, 1983, who presents many examples of New Christians who arrived in Venice from Iberia and did not become Jews.

2 B. López Belinchón, *Honra, libertad y hacienda* (*Hombres de negocios y judíos sefardíes*), Alcalá de Henares, 2001, pp. 397–408.

3 A.A. Sicroff, *Les controverses des statuts de pureté de sang en Espagne du XV^e^ au XVII siècle*, Paris, 1960; F.M. Burgos Esteban, "Los estatutos de limpieza y sus pruebas en el siglo XVII: la figura del converso en las denuncias y testimonios," in C. Barros ed., *Xudeus e conversos*

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elled to Italy from Portugal in 1599 because he had not been accepted by the Jesuits, due to the regulations that had been adopted in that order six years previously. He hoped that in Italy he could achieve what had been denied him in his homeland, but in Livorno, after meeting Dr. Eliahu Montalto, a Portuguese Converso who had recently adopted Judaism, he resolved to join the Jewish people. He changed his name to Reuel Jessurun and became an active member of the Sephardic community of Amsterdam.[4]

The communities of the Western Sephardic Diaspora went out of their way to attract Conversos and return them to Judaism, but their efforts were not always successful. Many of the descendants of the converted Jews in Late Medieval Spain and Portugal had very strong Christian identities, and some of them had succeeded in assimilating into the majority society in Iberia, despite the many difficulties placed before them. Those who sought to assimilate sealed their ears against the entreaties of their relatives, who had been absorbed within Judaism and wished to draw them in as well.[5] Others felt torn between contradictory tendencies toward both Christianity and Judaism and found it hard to reach a clear decision between the two. Nor were skeptics lacking among them, indifferent to all religious faith. Many New Christians wandered from country to country and city to city in the East and West for

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na historia. Actas do Congreso Internacional, Ribadavia 14–17 de outubro de 1991, Santiago de Compostela, 1994, pp. 359–381; J. Hernández Franco, *Cultura y Limpieza de Sangre en la España Moderna. Puritate Sanguinis*, Murcia, 1996; L. Martz, "Implementation of Pure-Blood Statutes in Sixteenth-Century Toledo," in: B.D. Cooperman ed., in: *Iberia and Beyond. Hispanic Jews between Cultures. Proceedings of a Symposium to Mark the 500th Anniversary of the Expulsion of Spanish Jewry*, Newark and London, 1998, pp. 245–263; R.A. Maryks, *The Jesuit Order as a Synagogue of Jews. Jesuits of Jewish Ancestry in the Early Society of Jesus*, Leiden & Boston, 2010.

4 C. Roth, "Quatre lettres d'Elie de Montalto," *Revue des études juives*, 87 (1929), p. 141; On Conversos who wished to join the Jesuit Order, see: Y. Kaplan, "R. Saul Levi Morteira's Treatise 'Arguments Against the Christian Religion'," in J. Michman ed., *Studies in the History of Dutch Jewry*, Vol. 1, Jerusalem, 1975, pp. 9–31 (in Hebrew); On the circumstances of Paulo de Pina's decision to become Jewish, see also W.C. Pieterse, *Daniel Levi de Barrios als geschiedschrijver*, Amsterdam, 1968, p. 65. On the introduction of the purity of blood regulations in the Jesuit order, see mainly Maryks, *The Jesuit Order as a Synagogue*, pp. 117–156. Also see: F. de Borja Medina, "Ignacio de Loyola y la 'limpieza de sangre'," in: *Ignacio de Loyola y su tiempo*, Bilbao, 1991, pp. 583–615; A. Foa, "*Limpieza* versus Mission: Church, Religious Orders, and Conversion in the Sixteenth Century," in: S.J. McMichael and S.E. Myers eds., *Friars and Jews in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, Leiden and Boston 2004, pp. 301–311.

5 Roth, "Quatre lettres," pp. 137–165.

many years, unable to reach a final decision. Sometimes, after opting at last to become Jews, they changed their minds and retracted their decision.[6]

The Inquisition regarded circumcision as one of the gravest sins that could be charged against a New Christian.[7] Unlike the New Christians, who had been circumcised as children and could place the blame on their parents, men of whom it could be proven that they had been circumcised as adults were liable to severe punishment, because the responsibility was entirely their own. The crime was regarded as even more severe if the man had been circumcised outside the kingdoms of Iberia, in centers of former New Christians, because this was a clear indication of intentional affiliation with heretics, i.e. Christians who had fled and abandoned the Church to become Jews. By contrast, the Sephardic communities regarded the willingness of a Converso immigrant to receive the mark of the covenant as an unequivocal sign of the seriousness of his attention to accept the Jewish religion. The third Sephardic congregation to be established in Amsterdam, the Beth Israel [House of Israel] congregation, founded in 1618, drafted a regulation on 16 Ab, 5480 [15 August 1620] that forbade entry to the synagogue to any man who was not circumcised by the Sabbath before the coming New Year:

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6 Martin de Almeida Pereira of Lisbon was circumcised in Hamburg during the 1620s, but in 1623, upon arriving in Venice, he decided to appear voluntarily before a tribunal of the Inquisition so that he could be restored to the bosom of the church. He told the inquisitors that he had been born in a family of veteran Christians of the Portuguese nobility, and that in Portugal and France he had been a faithful Christian. He claimed that he had been misled by two students of Jewish extraction, whom he had met in Spain, and they convinced him to move to Rome, and, having left Iberia, his life fell into disarray. According to his testimony, contrary to his initial plan, he wound up in Flanders [he probably meant Holland] and Hamburg. There he met Jewish emigrants from Spain and Portugal, and they convinced him not to return to Spain, and they influenced him "to become a Jew, which is what I did," and remained with them for two and a half years; Pullan, *The Jews of Europe*, pp. 222–223. See also J. Caro Baroja, *Los Judíos en la España Moderna y Contemporánea*, Madrid, 1978, second edition, pp. 359–364, for an account of the wanderings of Esteban Ares de Fonseca and his vacillating path between Christianity and Judaism.

7 In the opinion of D.M. Gitlitz, *Secrecy and Deceit: The Religion of the Crypto-Jews*, Philadelphia and Jerusalem, 1996, p. 204, most of the Crypto-Jews in Iberia were unable to observe the commandment of circumcision. At the same time, there is reliable evidence, not scarce, that some Crypto-Jews in Spain and Portugal had their sons circumcised, and that adult men also had themselves circumcised. See also Y.H. Yerushalmi, *From Spanish Court to Italian Ghetto. Isaac Cardoso: A Study in Seventeenth-Century Marranism and Jewish Apologetics*, New York and London, 1971, pp. 37–38, 133.

> So that no unclean person might enter the synagogue at the time when God is judging His people; and if they are not circumcised by that day, we command them not to enter until they have done so. If other men arrive [from Spain or Portugal] during the year, who, for various reasons, did not have occasion to be circumcised, they will be given a grace period of two months, and after that time they will not be permitted to enter the synagogue until they have been circumcised.[8]

Most likely, regulations in the same spirit were enacted in the other two veteran congregations of Amsterdam, Bet Jakob [House of Jacob] and Neveh Shalom [Dwelling of Peace]. However, their registers have not been preserved. It seems that the three congregations were not satisfied with merely prohibiting the entry of uncircumcised Jewish men into the synagogue. They also ostracized them, and for the ostracism to be effective, in their synagogues they also proclaimed excommunication against anyone who came into contact with the men who refused to be circumcised.

In 1619, Rabbi Saul Levi Mortera gave a vehement sermon in the synagogue on the utmost importance of circumcision. Mortera launched an attack against those who refused to accept the sign of the covenant, who were not, apparently, few in number, and he emphasized that any man who did not keep the commandment of circumcision would not only be punished by excision from the community but also, every single minute of delay in fulfilling that commandment, without any justification, entailed further excision. He repeated this sermon in 1626, perhaps in the wake of the echoes raised in public by the confrontation with the Converso Esteban Ares de Fonseca, who refused to be circumcised. Moreover, he saw fit to deliver the same sermon once again in 1650, when the flow of New Christians from Spain to Amsterdam increased, because of the economic crises that struck that country after the fall of the Count-Duke of Olivares.[9] It seems that not everyone who left Spain in that wave of emigration, which brought bankers and merchants who had previously been

8 Livro de Ascamot do Kahal Kados Bet Israel, in the Municipal Archives of Amsterdam (=GAA), PA 334, No. 10, fol. 60.

9 M. Saperstein, *Exile in Amsterdam. Saul Levi Morteira's Sermons to a Congregation of 'New Jews'*, Cincinnati, 2005, pp. 299–300. And see also: Ishac Athias, *Thesoro de Preceptos adonde se encierran las joyas de los Seyscientos y treze Preceptos que encomendó el Señor a su Pueblo Israel*, Amsterdam, 5409 [1649], Primera Parte, 215, fol. 61r: "Porque solo este Affirmativo, y el Carnero Pascual tienen esta pena."

protegés of Olivares to the centers of the Western Sephardic Diaspora, resolved to join the Jewish people.[10]

The Sephardic community in London, too, which began to take shape in the mid-seventeenth century, was forced to cope with the phenomenon of those who refused to become Jews. It is known that during the first days of that community, which was founded at the end of Cromwell's commonwealth, a group of New Christians were active there, recent arrivals from Iberia who had not been circumcised. The pattern of leading a double life persisted within English Jewry even after 1663, when the Sephardic community had already received official recognition and had taken the name "Sha'ar Hashamayim" [The Gate of Heaven]. At that time, a large group of New Christians arrived with the retinue of the Portuguese princess, Catherine of Braganza. Not only did their Jewish ancestry not impel them to adopt the Jewish religion in a place where this was possible, but most of them had no connection at all with Judaism beyond that of ancestry. Nevertheless, though they had not been circumcised, some of them maintained close social connections with the Jewish community and even used to attend synagogue services! Their social and public influence on the Sephardic community was not negligible, and the leaders of the London community did not always know how to cope with this complex state of affairs.[11] Rabbi Jacob Sasportas, who had arrived there in 1664, after being appointed the rabbi of the new community, was not reconciled with this situation, and launched a struggle against the uncircumcised. He wanted to institute regulation forbidding entry into the London synagogue by men who had not been circumcised—a measure adopted in Amsterdam more than forty years earlier. With the bellicose spirit that characterized his public activity throughout his life, he succeeded in removing all those who refused to accept the sign of the covenant, including several of the wealthiest and most influential merchants in the congregation.[12] However, his stubborn struggle

10 On the crises during the rule of Olivares, see: J.H. Elliott, *The Count-Duke of Olivares. The Statesman in an Age of Decline*, New Haven & London, 1986, pp. 409–673. Against the common view that Olivares showed a positive attitude toward New Christians, see J.I. Pulido Serrano, *Injurias a Cristo. Religión, política y antijudaísmo en el siglo XVII*, Alcalá de Henares, 2002; For a comprehensive analysis of the economic activities of the New Christians in Olivares' time, see M. Schreiber, *Marranen in Madrid 1600–1670*, Stuttgart, 1994.

11 L. Wolf, "The Jews of the Restoration 1600–1664," *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society in England*, V (1902–1905), pp. 4–42.

12 Tishbi identified Solomon Franco and one of the Francia brothers among the Portuguese Jews whom Sasportas confronted; see, I. Tishbi, "New Information of the 'Converso' Community in London According to the Letters of Sasportas from 1664/1665," in A. Mirsky,

did not solve the root of the problem, and when he left London, a year after his arrival, because of the plague that had claimed many victims in the city, some of those who had been expelled could breathe easily and once again attend services in the synagogue without hindrance.

Not everyone adopted Sasportas' rigid and uncompromising attitude. Certain communities did not prevent uncircumcised men from coming to the synagogue. About fifty years after Sasportas' confrontation in London, the rabbis of the Sephardic communities in Pisa and Livorno had to give their attention to the presence of uncircumcised men in the synagogue. Rabbi Jacob, the son of Moses Senior, expressed his opinion on the case of "one of the forced converts of the time [who] saved his life from the destruction of the land of evil decrees and came to a city where Jews live, and with the knowledge of the righteous and the congregation he acknowledged the Lord with all his heart." Unlike the uncircumcised men in London, who were not remarkable for their loyalty to the Law of Israel, this man observed the commandments faithfully, "and three times a day he recites the blessings and recited the Shema with its benedictions and he wraps himself in a fringed garment and he is active in performing the commandments, as he is from the seed of our Father Abraham." But despite that devotion, "he has not yet entered the covenant because his wealth is found scattered in the hands of gentiles in one of the cities that he left," and therefore he was in doubt "lest he should have to return there to save his wealth, and not for an unworthy purpose, perish the thought." While he was dwelling in the Jewish community, "he became accustomed to the synagogue, and he bought the honor of opening the Holy Ark and removing the Torah scroll and taking it in his arms and bringing it to the reading platform." Senior wrestled with the question:

> According to the law is it permitted to allow him to perform that commandment and to hold something that is holy while he is not circumcised and has not immersed himself, and there is no a motive for prohibition, or whether he should be rejected and protested against and prevented just as they do not enable him to put on phylacteries until he is circumcised.

From the way he has worded the question, it is clear that he tended to permit the man to hold the Torah scroll although he was uncircumcised. In

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A. Grossman & Y. Kaplan eds., *Exile and Dispora. Studies in the History of the Jewish People Presented to Professor Haim Beinart on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday*, Jerusalem, 1988, pp. 470–496 (in Hebrew).

contrast, several rabbinical scholars in the general yeshiva of the community of Livorno wrote:

> The time does not demand this, and they shall not be held equal to full Jews to permit them to handle holy objects as long as they are uncircumcised, for this would give rise to ruin. People will excuse themselves from entering the covenant of our Father Abraham seeing that while still uncircumcised they are not prevented from handling every holy thing like absolute Jews, which would not be the case if some explicit difference were made between them, for then everyone would hurry and rush to do the act and complete the portion and circumcise the flesh of their foreskin to be counted in every respect in sanctity like the Jews, the people close to Him, may he be praised.

They went on to write:

> Those who keep themselves and others from being circumcised not for reasons of constraint but for reasons of laziness, we must be very severe with them and prevent them from handling anything sanctified, and they must not wrap themselves in a fringed garment, and they must not come to pray in the synagogue, only by themselves in their home until they are circumcised like us, and we are one nation.[13]

In London, some of the New Christians who did not join the Jewish community continued to behave like the Conversos in Iberia: they observed certain Jewish customs but refrained from observing central commandments such as circumcision. The Conversos in Spain and Portugal acted in that manner for fear of the Inquisition, but the members of the Nation in London, who were satisfied with minimal observance of the commandments, did so without any external constraint.[14] Unlike the policy adopted in a large and consolidated community such as that of Amsterdam, where all contact with the uncircumcised was forbidden, the *Mahamad* [council of governors of the congregation] in London permitted maintaining contact with them, "so as not to damage

13 See the Responsa of Rafael Meldola, *Mayim rabbim*, Amsterdam, 1737, Yoreh Deah, Part II, Nos. 51–52.

14 Y. Kaplan, *An Alternative Path to Modernity. The Sephardi Diaspora in Western Europe*, Leiden, Boston and Köln, 2000, pp. 155–167.

trade."[15] Various regulations of the Sha'ar Shamayim congregation relate to those who refused to submit to the commandments as having "removed themselves from the community to enjoy their freedom."[16] Indeed, when the barrier was lowered between those who adopted Judaism and those who were not willing to take that decisive state, it was difficult to limit contacts among them solely to the area of business and to prevent contacts of other kinds, including marriage. Some of the uncircumcised men sought to observe certain Jewish rites and even expressed the wish to marry according to the Jewish religion, in a ceremony including all the traditional elements. A special resolution was passed in 1678, reflecting this strange situation:

> That if a Daughter of Israel [...] is married to a man who is not circumcised, let no Jewish man, whether it be a Jew from the congregation or not, come to the marriage ceremony or to the party held after it; and it is forbidden to serve as witnesses to the wedding or to write the marriage contract or to sign it or to recite the seven [marriage] benedictions or to be present when they are recited; and whoever violates any prohibition of all these aforesaid prohibitions—he will be excommunicated, and together with him will be excommunicated all those who knew about the act and did not inform the lords of the *Mahamad*.[17]

The *Mahamad* in London was unable to exert effective pressure on people with the social status of Duarte da Silva and the physician Fernando Mendes da Costa, who had connections with the royal court, and they could not persuade them to accept circumcision. Shortly before the regulation just cited Fernando Mendes married Isabel (Rachel) Marques, the daughter of the wealthy Diego Rodríguez Marques, who was Jewish in every respect.[18]

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15 Libro de los Acuerdos A, Archives of the Spanish and Portuguese Congregation of London, fol. 13r.

16 Libro do Mahamad A, ibid., fol. 16r.

17 Ibid., fol. 6r.

18 On the Mendes da Costa family who vacillated between Christianity and Judaism see: N. Perry, "La chute d'une famille sefardie: les Mendes da Costa de Londres," *Dix-huitième siècle*, 13 (1981), pp. 11–25; idem, "Anglo-Jewry, the Law, Religious Conviction, and Self-Interest (1655–1753)," *Journal of European Studies*,14 (1984), pp. 1–23; on the separation of these two men from the congregation, see M. Endelman, *Radical Assimilation in English Jewish History 1656–1945*, Bloomington-Indianapolis, 1990, pp. 12, 14, 23; E. Samuel, *At the End of the Earth: Essays on the History of the Jews of England and Portugal*, London, 2004, pp. 194–197, 243–245; see also Libro do Mahamad A, Archives of the Spanish and Portuguese Congregation of London, fol. 6r.

In contrast, the *parnassim* [governors] of the community were quite capable of taking a hard and decisive position regarding poor immigrants who could not afford to pay the price of the decision to accept circumcision. Support for them was conditional upon their clear decision to cast their lot with the Jewish community, and in most cases the pressure and threats exerted against them bore fruit. In 1727, when trials against Conversos were resumed in Spain and Portugal, the *Mahamad* in London tried to send dozens of poor New Christians, who had fled from the persecution of the Inquisition, to the British colonies across the Atlantic, but assistance was offered only to those who were circumcised before departing.[19] A short time later, the officers of the community decided to take a harder stand and to demand of anyone who refused to be circumcised the return of all the money from the charity fund that had been advanced to bring them from Iberia to England.[20]

The *parnassim* were not the only ones who were forced to cope with the phenomenon of Conversos who vacillated between Christianity and Judaism. The danger of the blurring of boundaries of Jewish identity threatened both the unity of the community and also that of families. Many wills written in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries reflect the apprehension that dwelt in the hearts of many householders in the Sephardic communities that their wealth might depart from the framework of the Jewish family or that their heirs or beneficiaries might sever themselves from the Jewish faith. Abraham Rodríguez Marques of London wrote the following in his will in 1688: "Many times I wished that the physician Fernando Mendes would name one of his children after me; but if, during the coming two years, he and his

19 Libro do Mahamad B, ibidem, fol. 32a ff., decisions taken on 10 Sivan 5487 (30 May 1727).

20 Ibid., fol. 36b, 28 Heshvan 5488 (11 November 1727): "[…]avendo vindo algums sujeitos q[ue] despois de averlhes pago o frette, dadolhe assistencia se tem jdo p[ar]a fora jnsercunsizos, por tanto fazem saber os dittos SSres do Mahamad q[ue] se de oje em diante qualquer pessoa q[ue] vier de dittas ou outras partes a judaismo y estiuer quinze dias sem sircunçidar salvo justo empedim[en]to, não tão som[en]te lhe não darão ajuda algua nem despacho, porem passado ditto termo o persiguirão p[e]lo frette ja pago […]." R. Barnett's claim that every New Christian arriving in London had to be circumcised within fifteen days is inexact, and there is no doubt that this regulation applied only to poor people receiving support from the community, cf. R.D. Barnett ed., *Bevis Marks Records IV: The Circumcision Register of Isaac and Abraham de Paiba (1715–1775)*, London, 1991, pp. 2 ff. By contrast, Regulation no. 30 in the revised regulations of 1693 implies that at that time it had already become the practice for newcomers from Iberia to be circumcised within thirty days of their arrival in London. See Libro de los Acuerdos B, Archives of the Spanish and Portuguese Congregation of London, fol. 11 ff. From the wording of the regulation it does not sound as if steps were taken against those who did not do so.

sons are not circumcised, none of them shall receive any part of my property."[21] Jacob the son of Israel Pereyra, a central figure in the Sephardic social elite of Amsterdam, placed the condition in the will that he drafted in 1705 that only "family relations born in marriage according to law, who keep the Law of Moses publicly" should enjoy the fruit of the sum he would be leaving.[22] When Abraham Penso Felix set aside a sum in his will to be distributed among needy brides of the community in Amsterdam, he demanded of the beneficiaries that they "keep the Law of Moses publicly."[23] Henriques de Medina wrote in a similar spirit in September 1716: he bequeathed his shares in the Dutch East India Company to his nephews, but at the same time he ordered that the property must be transferred from generation to generation as an inheritance, in memory of the patriarch of the family, "if they keep the Law of Moses"; and if the beneficiary decides to marry a woman "she must be one of the daughters of our Portuguese nation, who observes the aforesaid Law of Moses."[24] Clauses of this kind were common in the wills of former Conversos, and they are indicative of the fear that gnawed at the heart of many of them that the members of their family might abandon Judaism, because their absorption in the Jewish community was unsuccessful, or because they refused to join it from the start.

As noted, the arrival of a New Christian in a place where a Jewish community existed did not necessarily indicate his willingness to return to Judaism. The first period in his contacts with members of the community was a liminal stage, in which the transition to the new identity had not yet been decided upon.[25] Circumcision was intended to remove the Converso from his undefined

21 On Fernando Mendes' marriage, see above, note 18.

22 This is the wording composed on the New Moon of Adar, 5465 (1705). See file No. 518, in the Archives of Portuguese Jewish Community of Amsterdam (GAA, PA 334); and see Livro de Escamoth B, ibidem, No. 20, fol. 209 ff., the first version from 26 Elul 5456 (23 September 1696): "Declaro que os que ouvierem de gozar em qual quer tempo tanto dos 4/5 como do 1/5 hão de ser parentes avidos de legitimo matrimonio e que fassão publica proffisão da observansia da ley de Mosseh excluindo a todos os que não tuvierem ambas estas calidades."

23 Livro de Escamoth B, ibidem, fol. 531: "Todas as pesoas que ouverem de gozar en algum modo desta misva hão de ser de legitimo y judaico matrimonio e qui fasão da observansa da Ley de Mosseh com a tradisão que ensinão os sabios de Israel [. . .]."

24 GAA, PA 334, No. 518, fol. 302: "com expressa clausa e condisão que aja de profesar a Ley de Mosseh e juntamente que chegando a cazar aya de ser com filhas de nossa Nação Portugueza e observantes da mesma Ley de Mosseh."

25 On the concept of 'liminality' and on the liminal period in *rites de passage* see: V. Turner, *The Forest of Symbols: Aspects of Ndembu Ritual*, Ithaca and London 1967, pp. 93–111; idem, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure*, Ithaca, 1969, pp. 94–130.

situation, and his agreement to accept the sign of the covenant could be interpreted as a final decision to join the Jewish people. Since from that moment on his Judaism was stamped in his flesh, it is quite likely that his willingness to return to the lands of the Inquisition would be diminished.

It should be recalled that in Iberia and in the Spanish and Portuguese colonies in the New World there were few New Christians who had been circumcised in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[26] In Mexico, for some reason, the situation was exceptional: many New Christians there did observe the commandment of circumcision. Of the 120 men condemned in the Inquisitional tribunal of Mexico between 1630 and 1649, thirty-eight were circumcised.[27] It appears that in the 1650s the number of circumcised men in that country increased. The historian Eva Uchmany calculated that ninety-eight percent of the men who were condemned for Judaizing in the autos-de-fe that took place in Mexico in that decade were circumcised.[28]

The picture was entirely different elsewhere in colonial America. Among the New Christians in Peru, for example, circumcision was very uncommon.[29] Even among the *Chuetas*, the Crypto-Jews of Majorca, who were known for their devotion to the observance of Jewish customs, no circumcised men were found during the entire seventeenth century.[30] Despite the rarity of circumcision among New Christians in the early modern period, some of them adopted the practice of puncturing their foreskin, and there were some cases of total removal of it.[31] Ritual circumcisers from North Africa or other centers in the

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26 See above, note 7.

27 S.M. Hordes, *The Crypto-Jewish Community in Colonial New Spain: 1620–49: A Collective Biography*, PhD dissertation, Tulane University, New Orleans, 1980, p. 214. Some scholars have even claimed that most of those condemned for Judaizing in Mexico during the 1640s were circumcised, but this is doubtful. See S.B. Liebman, *The Jews of New Spain*, Coral Gables, 1970, p. 254.

28 E.A. Uchmany, "El judaísmo de los cristianos nuevos de origen portugués en la Nueva España," in A. Haim ed., *Society and Community: Proceedings of the Second International Congress for Research of the Sephardi and Oriental Jewish Heritage 1984*, Jerusalem, 1991, p. 135.

29 Indeed, the case of Manuel Fonseca was exceptional. He was circumcised in Livorno during a visit there in the early seventeenth century, before he left for the Americas. See P. Castaneda Delgado and P. Hernández Aparicio, *El tribunal de la Inquisición de Lima, 1570–1635*, Madrid, 1989, pp. 436, 447.

30 B. Braunstein, *The Chuetas of Majorca: Conversos and the Inquisition of Majorca*, New York, 1936, p. 104.

31 For examples of the examination of suspects by physicians and surgeons on behalf of the Inquisition in Iberia, in which it was discovered that Crypt-Jews had been circumcised, see: Y. Kaplan, *From Christianity to Judaism. The Story of Isaac Orobio de Castro*, Oxford, 1989, pp. 6–7, 47; Yerushalmi, *From Spanish Court*, pp. 37–38.

Sephardic Diaspora were willing to travel to Spain, Portugal, and even Mexico in secret to circumcise New Christians, despite the threatening shadow of the Inquisition.[32]

The decision to return to the Jewish religion often caused rifts in the families of emigrants, as we see from the content of a question addressed to Rabbi Jacob Sasportas:

> Reuben, one of the forced converts of this time, the Lord aroused his spirit, and he came, with his three sons, to the city of Amsterdam, may the Lord preserve it, to accept upon themselves the yoke of the kingdom of heaven and thus did he and two of his younger sons, for the eldest went back to where he had come from, drawn by his foreskin, and he reverted to his former practice.[33]

The severe approach taken by a number of rabbis at the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries toward the descendants of the Conversos in Iberia, relating to the New Christians as absolute gentiles whose adhesion to Judaism required conversion, did not take hold in the Sephardic communities of Western Europe, most of whose members were former Conversos or descended from them. In the communities of the Western Sephardic Diaspora, the new arrivals were not regarded as gentiles but as Jews who had been forced into apostasy, and who were now returning to the bosom of Judaism. And if there were places where they required the new members to immerse themselves as well, this was because they accepted the opinion that immersion was even required of a Jew who had converted to another religion and then returned to Judaism, according to rabbinical law.[34]

Furthermore, it appears that throughout the seventeenth century no strict inquiry was made into the origins of women married to New Christians whose Jewish ancestry was well known. Not only that, even when testimony was presented regarding the Jewish ancestry of a New Christian who wished to become a Jew, in most cases no effort was made to prove the Jewish ancestry

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32 See, for example, H. Beinart, "A Salonikian Jew in 17th Century Spain," *Sefunot*, XII (1971–1978), p. 195 (in Hebrew). The New Christian, Gabriel de Granada, who was restored to the Church in Mexico in 1646, told the Inquisition that he had been circumcised as a boy, according to his mother's wishes, by a well known rabbi who had come to Mexico and who was a relative of his father's. See Liebman, *The Jews of New Spain*, p. 209.

33 Jacob Sasportas, *Responsa Ohel Yaakov*, Amsterdam, 5497 [1737], No. 59, fol. 64 a.

34 Cf. S. Schwarzfuchs, "Le retour des marranes au judaïsme dans la literature rabbinique," in Barros ed., *Xudeus e conversos* (above, note 3), pp. 339–348.

of his mother.[35] Explicit demands that women must convert have come down to us only in reference to gentile women who became Jewish while unmarried or mulatto servant women. On 10 March 1624 the *parnassim* of the Sephardic community in Amsterdam decided to bury the mulatto woman, Sara Israel, beyond the fence of cemetery, *por não ser banhada* [because she had not immersed herself]. Her name indicates that she was regarded as a convert, but it appears that some flaw was found in her conversion.[36] Similarly they were strict with the circumcised sons of non-Jewish women of this kind, when there was suspicion that they had not been properly converted, and they, too, were buried outside the fence. On 27 June 1622, in the same cemetery, they buried "a child, the son of Joseph de Silva, a *mamzer* [the offspring of an incestuous or adulterous union], in the area beyond the fence, where the Ashkenazi is buried, because his mother had not immersed herself properly."[37]

Indeed, in the signed testimony presented by emigrants from Iberia so they would be recognized as members of the Nation who wished to return to the bosom of Judaism, there is no explicit reference to the origin of their mothers in particular. Written evidence presented by Juan de Marques Gallardo, apparently at the beginning of the eighteenth century, stresses that the witnesses knew his father, "who was arrested in the prison of the Inquisition because of his Judaism." Another document adds that his father was kept in the prison of the Inquisition in Seville. On the basis of these documents, the *Mahamad* authorized his circumcision.[38] Around 1718 a man named Francisco Nieto submitted a similar request to the community governors, "after he came from Lisbon about four weeks ago in order to receive the holy Jewish sign, because he is the son of Juan Nieto, who was burned in [17]18, and this is known to other Jews in this land [. . .] They can testify that he is the descendant of Jews."[39]

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35 Thus, for example, it is known that Isabel Pérez de la Peña, who was married to the physician Isaac Orobio de Castro came from an Old Christian family, but there is no hint in the documents of the community that she was regarded as a convert. She adhered to Judaism with her husband and took the name Esther. Their two children, who arrived in Amsterdam with them, were not regarded as converts, nor were the three other children whom they bore in Holland. See Kaplan, *From Christianity to Judaism*, pp. 66–67, 107–109.

36 *Livro do Bet Haim do Kahal Kados de Bet Yahacob*, original text, introduction, notes and index by W.C. Pieterse, Assen, 1970, p. 107.

37 Ibid., p. 102. This was also the practice with the daughters of mothers who had not converted according to Jewish law. See ibid., p. 98: on 24 January 1621 is mentioned the daughter of Daniel Belmonte, whose mother had not immersed herself ("por sua maj não ser banhada").

38 See in GAA, PA 334, No. 503, fol. 52.

39 Ibid., No. 381.

From an examination of the registers in Amsterdam and London the impression arises that during the eighteenth century a greater effort was made to inspect the Jewish origins of emigrants who wished to join the congregation, but then, too, they did not inquire into the origins of the mother and were satisfied with general testimony that indicated a family affiliation with the Nation, which is to say, the ethnic group of New Christians.[40] Only the sons of non-Jewish wives were asked to undergo ritual immersion (*tevillarse*) as part of the conversion process.[41]

Circumcision as a Sacrament and as a Condition for the Redemption of the Soul

Both among the Conversos and among those who returned to Judaism the view took hold that circumcision had sacramental status, parallel to Christian baptism. According to this view, circumcision became the main identifying mark of a Jewish man and the sole condition for the redemption of his soul. The Inquisitors in Mexico who interrogated the New Christian Juan Pacheco de León learned that he used to declare that "circumcision is for the Jews what baptism is for Christians" ("*Lo mismo es entre los judíos la circuncisión que el*

40 Ibid., No. 503, fols. 12, 22, 43, 50, 51, 55, 59. See No. 26 in this archive, (Memorial de Advertencias D), fol. 204, a resolution passed on 25 Iyyar 5523 (8 May 1763) regarding Fulano Nunes de Portugal, who was asked to produce proof of his Judaism. Regarding London, see Libro do Mahamad D, fol. 13, on Cristóbal del Sotto Mayor y Martínez, who escaped from Spain in 1788 and received authorization to be circumcised after his origins were "examined scrupulously." In contrast, Luis da Costa, who claimed shortly after that he had been born in Portugal and asked to join the community, did not manage to convince them, because they could not rule with certainty about his origins. They suggested that he should go to Amsterdam, where they could reach a decision, and he was even offered monetary support for the voyage. See ibid., fol. 42.

41 A regulation of the Ouderkerk cemetery of Sephardic community of Amsterdam, dated Iyyar 5384 (1624) stated explicitly that the sons of gentile women could be buried there only if the women had been properly immersed; the sons of those who had not done so were not regarded as Jews and were to be buried beyond the fence, "as though in the water [of the Amstel river, YK], a decision that aroused a great scandal among the gentiles." See: *Livro do Bet Haim do Kahal Kados de Bet Yahacob*, p. 45: "O primeiro que he ley de Israel que qualquer pessoa de qualquer qualidade que seja que por linha feminine tenha raça de goy tem necessidade de tevillarse na forma que o din ordena para ser reputado por judeu e se poder enterrar em Bet Hajm en caso que Ds o leve para sj nesta cidade [...] doutro modo não he contado por judeo e não se ha de enterrar dentro de Bet Hajm en enterrandose na cerqa de for como sobre agoa e he de muito escandalo para os goim que o vem."

bautismo es entre los cristianos").[42] This statement was commonly made by many New Christians throughout the early modern period. Quite probably that belief was prevalent among the Jews of Spain in the late Middle Ages, in the wake of the waves of conversion and the gap that opened between Jews and converts to Christianity during the fifteenth century, and it was also absorbed by the Conversos, taking on particular significance among those who returned to Judaism.[43] The words of Rabbi Isaac Caro, who said that "the first and most essential commandment is circumcision, because if a man is not circumcised, he is not a Jew,"[44] were heeded attentively by those who became Jewish, and not only because of the implicit criticism of New Christians in Spain who lived without the sign of the covenant, but also—and primarily—because it gave the circumcision ceremony essential sacral meaning in drawing the boundaries of their new identity. Similarly, the arguments of the type advanced by Hasdai Crescas served as a response for them to the Christian belief in the redemptive power of baptism: the sacrament of baptism did not save the soul from perdition but rather that of circumcision. Here is Crescas' argument:

> The commandment of circumcision, which was given to our Father Abraham, and it is a special thing in the entire nation, is a matter upon which part of Providence depends. And this is evident in the benediction that our Rabbis of blessed memory composed . . . And it is explained as salvation from perdition and from destruction of the grave, and it in itself is eternal life, which is a great part of Providence.[45]

In this spirit Rabbi Immanuel Aboab of Venice wrote from the Levant, around 1626, a letter of reproach to one of his New Christian acquaintances, who chose to remain in Labastide in France rather than join the rest of his family, who had returned to the Jewish people. Aboab wrote, "Without the praised sign of His holy and eternal covenant [. . .] there is no salvation."[46] Ishac Athias

42 B. Lewin, *Singular Proceso de Salamón Machorro* (*Juan de León*)*, Israelita liornés condenado por la Inquisición* (*México, 1650*), Buenos Aires, 1977, p. 191; and see Gitlitz, *Secrecy and Deceit*, pp. 207, 214 n. 35.

43 A. Gross, "Reasons for Circumcision: Trends and Historical Influences," *Daat*, 21 (1988), pp. 25–46 (in Hebrew).

44 Isaac Caro, *Toledot Yitzhak*, Amsterdam, 5468 [1708], Parashat Tazri'a, p. 52v. The book was first printed in Istanbul, 1518.

45 Hasdai Crescas, *Or Adonai*, Ferrara, 4315 [1555], Second Book, 2, chapter 6.

46 C. Roth, "Immanuel Aboab's Proselytization of the Marranos," *Jewish Quarterly Review*, N.S., XXIII (1932–1933), p. 143: "[. . .] para los descuidados Israelitas que esparcidos en

wrote something similar in his book, *Tesoro dos Dinim* [The Treasury of the Commandments], which he dedicated to the Jewish education of Conversos who adopted Judaism:

> According to the true law of our masters, a Jewish man will not merit salvation without that sign, for anyone who revokes the sign of our Father Abraham, even if he performed many commandments of the Torah and did good deeds, he will have no portion in the world to come . . . And everything proves that circumcision is the first essence and the gateway to the holy faith.[47]

In his *Excelencias de los Hebreos* [The Virtues of the Hebrews], which he wrote a few years after returning to Judaism, Isaac Cardoso offered a principled formulation of the sacramental approach, which had taken root in the consciousness of the New Christians who returned to the Jewish people. Cardoso wrote of circumcision as one of the virtues of the Jews and argued that it atoned for original sin [sic!], and without it "no Jew has salvation."[48] It is no coincidence that among all the commandments, he devoted an entire chapter to the Sabbath and to circumcision, and Y.H. Yerushalmi has noted the decidedly Christian influences that left their mark on Cardoso's formulation.[49]

Among the New Christians in Iberia it was commonly thought that an uncircumcised man was exempt from observing the commandments. Rabbi Samuel Aboab relates to this view at length:

> One must remove from them the worthless opinion that has spread almost among the majority of the sons of our nation who come from the

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aquella y en otras prouincias pasan la vida fuera del uzo de la ley del Dio Bendito olvidados de su seruicio, sin la Gloria diuisa de su santo y eterno firmamento, sin el qual no ay saluasion [. . .]"; see also M. Orfali's introduction to the Hebrew translation of Nomologia, by Immanuel Aboab, Jerusalem 1997, pp. 20–21.

47 Ishac Athias, *Thesoro de Preceptos*, Primera Parte, 215, fol. 61r: "[. . .] sin este Firmamento, no puede ningun hombre de Isr[ael] salvarse segun la verdadera doctrina de N[uestros] M[aestros]. Que todo el que anula el Firmamento de Abraham nuestro Padre, aunque tenga mucha Ley, y obras pias, no tiene parte en el mundo venidero; Y todo muestra, ser la Circuncision el primer fundamento della; y la puerta dela Fe santissima."

48 Yshac Cardoso, *Las Excelencias de los Hebreos*, Amsterdam, 1679, p. 91: "Sin este firmamento del Berit no se puede salvar el judío, pues dize Dios que sera el alma deste pueblo cortada, sino fuere circunciso, y aquel que anula el firmamento de Abraham nuestro padre, aunque tenga mucha ley, y obras pias, no tiene parte en el mundo venidero."

49 Yerushalmi, *From Spanish Court*, pp. 378–380.

> slavery of the soul, and it is an obstacle and an impediment to them, for they believe that so long as a man has a foreskin and is uncircumcised, he does not belong to the Jewish people, and his transgressions are not transgressions, and his crimes and rebellions are as if they never were, and from this great damage is caused to them, and some of them have persisted in their sins and did not hurry to save their souls. And I have seen someone who was already in a place of freedom and repeated in his foolishness the claim that he was going to bring his household, and he did not want to have himself circumcised, and he did not heed the voice of teachers, because of the aforementioned claim, that if he should sin and be guilty, no blame would be upon him for sinning, and he went and did not return and was drowned in the sea, and that was his punishment in this world, and behold we have learned an entire Mishnah in Chapter 3 of Nedarim [fol. 31B]: a [person who has sworn an] oath not to benefit from circumcised men is forbidden [to benefit from] uncircumcised Jewish men but permitted [to benefit from] circumcised idol-worshipers. [Showing that during the age of Mishnah, there were uncircumcised men who nevertheless were regarded as Jews.].[50]

Aboab was active in Venice for many years, and in the course of his long life, which extended through most of the seventeenth century, he encountered quite a few Conversos who were in no hurry to be circumcised, and their excuse was that so long as they had not been circumcised, they were not regarded as Jews, and they were exempt from the obligation to perform the commandments. Among those who refused he also found some who argued "that the day of circumcision was in their opinion the first day that their sins were counted."[51] Aboab opposed this opinion fiercely, defining it as "flawed" and "contrary to the principles of our holy faith":

> For circumcision is a commandment like all the other commandments in the Torah, and although it is the gate to the Lord, and the righteous shall enter it, and it is a holy covenant in the congregation of the Lord, the Torah does not depend on it. And therefore someone who is of the seed of Israel and is not sealed with it, because of that lack he is not exempt from the other commandments of the Torah . . . And he who is a son of

50 Samuel Aboab, *Sefer ha-Zichronot*, [s.l., s. d.], Jerusalem, 5761 [2001], pp. 259–260.

51 Ibid., p. 260.

> Israel must do the deeds of Israel, and he is not a son of Noah to be exempt from it.[52]

An echo of the argument that a man who is uncircumcised is not required to keep the commandments can also be found in the work by Abraham Israel Pereyra, *La certeza del camino* [The Certainty of the Path], printed in Amsterdam in 1666 and influenced by the mass movement of religious fervor that took place in Amsterdam during the great Sabbatian ferment:

> Those miserable sinners propose another excuse in their lack of prudence, that because they were not circumcised, they are exempt from keeping the divine commandments; but in this matter, as in all the rest, they are wrong, for from the moment they came into the world they are obligated to serve God, and the fact that they are uncircumcised only increases their misfortune.[53]

Although many rabbis expressed themselves vehemently against the view that attributed sacramental power to circumcision, the opinion that circumcision was sufficient to define the Converso's identity and assure him a place in the world to come became an important component of popular thinking among the members of the Nation who returned to Judaism. Moreover, the very approach that attributed supreme status to the commandment of circumcision in defining a Jew's identity sometimes led many New Christians to delay fulfilling it, because, as we have seen, they believed that so long as they were not yet circumcised, they did not have to obey the other commandments.

Burial of the Uncircumcised

During the first generation of renewed Jewish settlement in England, a sizable number of members of the Sephardic community in London chose to be buried in Christian cemeteries for various reasons. Some of them were apparently

52 Ibid.

53 H. Méchoulan, *Hispanidad y judaísmo en tiempos de Espinoza: Estudio y edición anotada de 'La Certeza del Camino' de Abraham Pereyra, Amsterdam 1666*, Salamanca, 1987, p. 204: "Tambien estos pobres pecadores llevan otro pretexto en su descuydo de que, por incircuncisos, se libran de la observancia de los divinos preceptos; en que viven abuzados como en los demás, pues desde que nascieron, vinieron al mundo con la obligación de servir a Dios y assí, estando incircuncisos, tanto mayor es su desdicha."

swayed by the desire to be buried near their loved ones, who had been buried as Christians before 1656, before the first Sephardic cemetery was established at Mile End.[54] Most likely this phenomenon was known in other Sephardic communities in the West as well in the early stages of their establishment, especially in places where there had been a concentration of New Christians for a long time before official permission was given to live openly as Jews. At the same time, in certain places in France, especially in Labastide, Peyrehorade, and Bidache, the Portuguese New Christians buried their dead in their own cemeteries even when they were officially regarded as "Catholics of the Portuguese Nation." Although these cemeteries were regarded as Christian, the research of Gérard Nahon shows that as early as the second half of the seventeenth century, before the central regime in France officially recognized the Judaism of the members of the Portuguese Nation, Jewish symbols and identifying marks were inscribed on many of the tombstones in them.[55]

In contrast to the specific preference of several of the first Sephardic Jews in London to be buried in Christian cemeteries, among quite a few New Christians who wished to become Jewish toward the end of their lives, one notes the opposite tendency: the desire to be buried as Jews in order to assure the redemption of their souls, according to their belief. With the approach of death, or even while on their deathbeds, though it could endanger their lives, they asked to be circumcised and buried as Jews, fearing the punishment of excision in store for them after their death.

Some of the Conversos of France also made great efforts to see that their dying relatives were circumcised before their death. A ritual circumciser named Manuel Peres da Mota was employed in Bordeaux during the seventeenth century to operate on the dying men. From testimony before the Spanish Inquisition by Juan Núñez Sarabia we learn that in 1631 he engaged a Jew from Amsterdam to circumcise his dying father.[56] A man named Diego de Mesquita arrived in London from Bordeaux in 1670. He had lived a double life in France for many years, like other New Christians there, without openly returning to Judaism. Before managing to rejoin the Jewish people, he fell prey to a mortal illness and was struck by great fear. He swore before several of the members of

54 A.S. Diamond, "The Community of the Resettlement, 1656–1684: A Social Survey," *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society in England*, XXIV (1975), pp. 140–141; idem, "The Cemetery of the Resettlement," *ibid*., XIX (1960), pp. 163–190.

55 G. Nahon, "Inscriptions funéraires hébraïques et juives à Bidache, Labastide-Clairance (Basses Pyrénées) et Peyrehorade (Landes), Rapport de mission," *Revue des études juives*, 127 (1968), pp. 223–252, 347–365; ibid., 128 (1969), pp. 349–375; ibid, 130 (1971), pp. 195–230.

56 G. Nahon, *Juifs et judaïsme à Bordeaux*, Paris, 2003, p. 5.

the community there that if he recovered from the illness he would perform the commandment of circumcision. He also ordered his brother and his wife, who had remained behind in Bordeaux, to bring his only son to Bayonne and make sure to induct him in the covenant of Abraham. When Diego passed away, several of his acquaintances in London said of him that "nothing weighed upon him more heavily than his failure to honor that obligation." The governors went beyond the letter of the law for him and ordered to have his body buried in the community cemetery, but "in a place separate from our brethren."[57] They could not have acted otherwise, because five years earlier, in 1665, it had been strictly forbidden in the bylaws of the newly founded *Bikur ḥolim and guemilut ḥasadim* [Visiting the Sick and Providing Welfare] Confraternity to bury any uncircumcised man in the community cemetery.[58] In Amsterdam a decision had been in effect since 1614, from the time that the Bet Jakob and the Neveh Shalom congregations drafted the bylaws for the cemetery in Ouderkerk, making it possible to transfer the remains of people who had been buried elsewhere to the new cemetery, on condition that the men had been circumcised before their first burial.[59] They defined the uncircumcised men as *pessoas indignas* [unworthy people] and buried them on the other side of the fence, along with blacks, mulattoes, and the children of gentile women who had not been properly converted.[60]

Just as there were circumcised Sephardic Jews who preferred to be buried next to their loved ones who had died as Christians, others went out of their

57 See Libro de los Acuerdos A, Archives of the Spanish and Portuguese Congregation of London, fol. 20r, an undated regulation, written after 24 Nissan and before the end of Iyyar 5430 (between 14 April and 19 May 1670). Diego de Mesquita made his promise in the presence of several members of the community. In this document, as in others of its type, circumcision is called "sancto firmamento." See Ibid.: "[…] y en el discurso de su enfermedad mostro euidentemente no lleuar mayor pesar en esta vida, que hauer faltado a esta obligación." See the English translation in L.D. Barnett ed., *El Libro de los Acuerdos Being the Records and Accompts of the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogueof London from 1663 to 1681*, Oxford, 1931, p. 40.

58 Barnett, ibid., p. 23. In the original: Holy Hebra of Bikur Hulim (sic) and Guemilut Haçadim.

59 *Livro do Bet Haim do Kahal Kados de Bet Yahacob*, p. 6, article 11: "Bem entendido que os que fallecerão nestes estados, sircunsidados antes de nelles aver Bet Haim lhes poderão trazer seus ossos a este […]."

60 See above, note 36. At that time it was not yet the custom to bury Ashkenazim in "unworthy plots," for this was only begun after 1702; see I. Hagoort, *Het Beth Haim in Ouderkerk aan de Amstel: De begraafplaats van de Portugese Joden in Amsterdam 1614–1945*, Hilversum, 2005, pp. 28–29.

way to provide a Jewish burial for relatives who had died uncircumcised and outside of Judaism. Occasionally we hear of instances in which circumcision was performed posthumously in order to get around the prohibition against giving a Jewish burial to men who had died uncircumcised. Henrique Garces, the son-in-law of the prominent merchant Duarte Fernández and one of Baruch Spinoza's grandfathers, was circumcised after his death in 1619, receiving the name Baruch Senior, but the *parnassim* would only agree to bury his body "on the other side of the fence," in the area set aside for the uncircumcised.[61] The New Christian Fernando Montesinos, one of the most influential financiers in the Spanish royal court during the seventeenth century, received special treatment, and, though was circumcised posthumously, was buried in an impressive ceremony in an honorable place in the cemetery. He died in Antwerp in April 1659, and according to testimony delivered to the Inquisition by an eye witness, his body was brought to Amsterdam and his funeral was held in November of that year. After he was circumcised in the courtyard of the synagogue, in the presence of a large crowd, he received the name David Arari and was buried in a sumptuous funeral, with many in attendance, in the cemetery in Ouderkerk.[62]

In contrast to the practice in Amsterdam, the *Mahamad* in London forbade posthumous circumcision completely. In a special regulation enacted in 1677 and ratified again sixteen years later, it threatened to excommunicate anyone involved in circumcising dead men.[63] In Bordeaux they followed the example of Amsterdam, and during the eighteenth century they used to circumcise Conversos after their death, and the practice aroused no official opposition.[64]

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61 *Livro* do Bet Haim do Kahal Kados de Bet Yahacob, p. 93: "Em 13 de Março se enterrou Baruk Senjori por outro nome Henrique Graces (junto ao filho incircunciso do Lobato) ao coal circuncidarão depois de morto." Garces settled in Amsterdam in 1605, but he was not involved in community life, and he spent a large part of his time in Antwerp. On the lawsuit between him and Isaac Pallache, see M. García-Arenal and G. Wiegers, *A Man of Three Worlds: Samuel Pallache, a Moroccan Jew in Catholic and Protestant Europe*, Baltimore and London, 2003, pp. 64–71; on Duarte Fernandes, see E.M. Koen, "Duarte Fernandes, Koopman van de Portugese Natie," *Studia Rosenthaliana*, 11 (1968), pp. 178–193.

62 López Belinchón, *Honra, libertad y hacienda*, pp. 407–408.

63 Livro de los Acuerdos B, Archives of the Spanish and Portuguese Congregation of London, (no page number), article 34: "Nenhũa pessoa de qualquer calidade que seja que falecer estando yncircumsizo sera enterrado em Bethaim, nem nenhum judeu o circuncidara depois de morto"; See ibid., in the revised regulations of Tishrei 5454, fol. 11 (Ascama 30), which repeats the earlier wording verbatim.

64 Nahon, *Juifs et judaïsme à Bordeaux*, pp. 111–112. The expression used in these cases was: "circuncisión sobre la sepultura," meaning "circumcision at the grave."

The *parnassim* of the communities in Amsterdam and London agreed to show consideration for those uncircumcised men who died in special circumstances and to grant them a Jewish burial, going beyond the strict letter of the law. For example, in 1645, following the sinking of a ship from Portugal that was bearing Conversos who intended to become Jewish, the *Mahamad* of the Amsterdam community declared: "In this case we cannot deny the deceased any grace accorded to all Jews, and if one day their bodies are found, they shall be buried in the cemetery, at a slight distance from the other graves." From then on it was permitted to bury uncircumcised Conversos in the cemetery belonging to the Amsterdam community, if they died on their way to a place where they could return to Judaism, if they sailed by sea from a "land of evil decree," and if there was reliable testimony that they had resolved to be circumcised.[65] However, in 1654 the members of the *Mahamad* in Amsterdam protested vehemently against "certain people who seek to bring the bones of the dead of our nation who died outside of Judaism for burial in the cemetery," against the stipulations that had been determined by the congregation.[66]

The *parnassim* of the community of London were also willing to display flexibility with regard to Converso refugees who died of illness before they could be circumcised. The *Mahamad* was called upon to decide in each particular case, by majority vote, whether to bury the deceased in the community

65 Livro de Escamoth A, GAA, PA 334, No. 19, fol. 191, 4 Sivan 5405 (29 May 1645): "Com a occasion do desastrado susesso que estos dias oiue de alguas pesoas de nossa nasão que com zelo de vir ao seruiço del dio se enbarcaron en Portugal e por ocultos juizios diuinos se afogaron no mar antes de tomar o firmamento." The *parnassim* of the community determined that since, according to reliable testimony, it was known that the dead men in question "had acknowledged the holy God and worshiped Him as much as possible in the conditions that prevailed in those countries, and that they had sailed on that ship in order to accept the yoke of heaven," they should be regarded as entirely Jewish with respect to the laws of mourning, memorial prayers, and the like. Cf. the case of Luis Franciso Alvares, a Converso from the city of Porto, who failed to reach Amsterdam, despite many efforts, and died in 1715 in the prison of the Inquisition. His son Isaac Alvares did reach Amsterdam, and after joining the Jewish community, he asked that his late father be given the status of a Jew and be named "Abraham Alvares." After the intervention of two members of the community, who testified about the father's intention to become Jewish (he had even left money to the community for charity), the *Mahamad* agreed, after consulting the rabbi, that memorial prayers should be recited in the synagogue for Abraham Alvares "on the first Sabbath on all the days when the Torah is read, for a year after his death, and afterward on holidays and on the Day of Atonement in the morning and on 28 Heshvan, which corresponded with 29 October, the day when he was taken by God, and also on the first Sabbath after that day"; see GAA, PA 334, No. 19, fol. 377.

66 Livro de Escamoth A, GAA, PA 334, No. 19, fol. 377.

cemetery.[67] At the same time, members of the community were strictly forbidden to deal with the bodies of people who had died uncircumcised or to participate in their funerals, with the exception of the closest members of the family, and anyone who violated that prohibition would be excommunicated.[68] In regulations instituted in 1693 it was explicitly determined:

> No man, no matter of what quality, if he dies while still uncircumcised, shall be buried in the cemetery, and no Jew shall circumcise him after his death or wash his body or dress him in shrouds or accompany him to burial, and he may not bury him in any other place, and if he does so, he shall pay a fine in the sum of twenty pounds sterling and raise up the coffin and beg forgiveness.[69]

In the light of the severe approach that was adopted in this community, it is that much more surprising to see that in 1716 the officers of the Sha'ar Hashamayim congregation agreed to bury Alvaro da Costa in the community cemetery, and in 1724 they agreed to bury Fernando Mendes da Costa there, although they had not been circumcised and had avoided all contact with the community institutions.[70] They belonged to a very wealthy family of merchants, who specialized in trade in diamonds and coral from India and in commercial ties between England and Iberia and the colonies in South America. Both of them had purchased splendid mansions for themselves in an area outside the

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67 Libro de los Acuerdos B, in the Archives of the Spanish and Portuguese Congregation of London, fol. 9r (no page numbers). These matters are mentioned in the Regulations of the years 1677 and 1693. On the New Moon of Kislev 5471 (12 November 1700), the governors of the community, as well as the Council of Elders, consisting of all those who had previously served on the *Mahamad*, were in doubt as to whether to bury Franciso Roiz Mogadoro, who died before he was circumcised. They took into consideration that "he was unsettled in his mind and mad," and they decided, by a majority of twelve votes out of the eighteen men present, to bury him "in a plot deemed appropriate" by the officials of the charity confraternity. Out of a sense that this decision was out of the ordinary, all those present were asked to sign it. See Libro do Mahamad A, in the Archive of the Spanish and Portuguese Congregation of London, fol. 38v.

68 Ibid.: "Nenhũa pessoa de qualquer calidade que seja que falecer estando yncircumsizo [...] nenhum judeu [...] o lauara, amortalhara, acompanhara ao Enterro nem fara a Sepultura."

69 Ascamot of the Spanish and Portuguese Congregation of London, 1693, article 30. The prohibition applied to those beyond a third degree of family relationship, and if anyone did not pay the fine, he would be forbidden to enter the synagogue for three years!

70 Endelman, *Radical Assimilation*, pp. 12, 14, 23.

municipal boundaries of London, and they had integrated into English high society. Some of their children did join the community, though they had not taken the trouble to give them any Jewish education. Alvaro received English citizenship, which entailed taking a Christian oath, and Fernando, who had at first served as the physician to Queen Catherine of Braganza, remained a Catholic till the end of his days. His daughter, the artist Catherina Mendes da Costa, who painted his portrait, chose Judaism, though her father refused to do so, even though he knew that because of his refusal he would lose his part of the large estate left behind by his wife's Jewish uncle.[71] Neither Alvaro nor Fernando ever expressed the wish to be buried in the cemetery at Mile End, so it appears that the wishes of their Jewish relatives were decisive. The economic influence of the Mendes family was so great that they apparently managed to persuade the officers to agree to something that was entirely contradictory to the spirit of the community regulations.[72]

With respect to women whose Jewish origins were not in doubt, matters were much simpler, especially if they were connected to wealthy and influential families. Thus, for example, the remains of Maria de Fonseca were laid to rest in the cemetery in Ouderkerk. She was the wife of Geronimo Nuñes Ramírez of Lisbon, who had been the physician of Marie de Medici, the queen of France. Maria de Fonseca was the mother of David and Jacob Curiel, two prominent merchants who occupied important positions in the communities of Amsterdam and Hamburg, thanks to their great wealth and wide-ranging diplomatic activity. Maria de Fonseca died in Saint Jean de Luz in 1614, and her bones were given a Jewish burial in 1628, thanks to the influence of her two wealthy sons, as is hinted in the cemetery register.[73] Did she receive the name Sara at the time of her burial, or had she received the Jewish name during her lifetime? The matter is unclear, but from the genealogical work written by Isaac the son of Matatia Aboab, who was married to her granddaughter, we learn that the family took care to remember the Hebrew date of her death.[74]

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71 See above note 18; and see also A.M. Hyamson, *The Sephardim of England*, London, 1951, pp. 114–115.

72 Endelman, *Radical Assimilation*, p. 23.

73 *Livro do Bet Haim do Kahal Kados de Bet Yahacob*, p. 118: "Em 2 de Nisan primeiro de reshodes se levarão a Bet Haim os ossos de Sarah Curiel may de Jaacob e David Curiel los quais vierão de Juan de Lus [. . .]." Jacob was known as Duarte Nunes da Costa, and David as Lopo Ramírez. See: D.M. Swetchinski, *Reluctant Cosmopolitans: The Portuguese Jews of Seventeenth-Century Amsterdam*, London and Portland, 2000, pp. 114, 119, 132, 173, 229, 239–242, 275.

74 I.S. Révah, "Pour l'histoire des nouveaux-chrétiens portugais. La relation généalogique de I. de M. Aboab," *Boletim International de Bibliografia Luso-Brasileira*, 11, 2 (1961), p. 307;

Circumcision and the Chinese Topknot

"I think that the sign of circumcision has such a great importance as almost to persuade me that this thing alone will preserve their nation for ever."[75] These are the words of Spinoza, written several years after he was excommunicated by the Amsterdam community. Seeking to provide a rational explanation for the continued existence of the Jews, "for their being dispersed and stateless for so many years,"[76] Spinoza detached them completely from Divine Providence and stated that the hatred of the other nations, which never lets up from them and prevents them from assimilating, is what maintains them. However, that hatred, according to Spinoza, was nourished by the tendency of the Jews to keep apart from the other nations: "after separating themselves from all the nations." Among all the "external rites" that they keep to separate themselves from the other nations, "which are contrary to the rites of other nations," circumcision played a central role: "the sign of circumcision which they zealously maintain," could, in Spinoza's opinion, maintain the Jewish people forever.[77]

Spinoza analyzed the significance of circumcision for the Jewish people like an objective anthropologist, distant culturally and emotionally from the tribe, whose codes of behavior and customs he sought to decipher. And with the same distance and restrained irony, he compared the circumcision of "that nation" to "an excellent example of this among the Chinese, who likewise zealously retain a kind of topknot on their heads, by which they distinguish themselves from all other men." However, according to Spinoza, the Chinese topknot proved its effectiveness far beyond Jewish circumcision, because the Chinese "have preserved themselves in this distinctive manner for many thousands of years, so that they far surpass all nations' antiquity."[78]

Scholars have long since taken note of Spinoza's classical and Jewish sources regarding the self-segregation of the Jews as well as his position as a harbinger of a secular interpretation of Jewish history.[79] Attention should also be paid

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she died on 10 Adar 5374 (18 February 1614), and the author of the family chronicle also indicated the hour of her death: eight in the evening.

75 Benedict de Spinoza, *Theological-Political Treatise*, ed. by J. Israel, tr. By M. Silverthorne & J. Israel, Cambridge 2007, p. 55.

76 Ibid.

77 Ibid.

78 Ibid., pp. 55–56.

79 Y.H. Yerushalmi, "Spinoza's Remarks on the Existence of the Jewish People," *Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities*, IV (1984), pp. 171–213 (in Hebrew).

to Baruch Spinoza's attitude toward the existential situation of the Western Sephardic Diaspora, since he was a member of the "Sephardic Jewish Nation" and the descendent of New Christians from Portugal. He was born in a society where circumcision had taken on unique symbolic importance. It became the sign that absolutely differentiated those who had chosen to join the separate Jewish community and those who chose to sever themselves from Judaism and assimilate among the gentiles. According to Spinoza, the Conversos of Spain, unlike those of Portugal, could indeed assimilate without difficulty, because the Spanish kings supposedly did not discriminate against them and or deny them any office or honor.[80] Spinoza translated the special sacramental significance that circumcision had received among the former New Christians into secular concepts. He did not regard it as the ceremony of accepting Abraham's covenant with his God. Rather he saw it as a ceremony of joining the Hebrew nation, whose separation from the other nations was essentially no different from that of the Chinese. Reference to the Chinese, who "far surpass all the other nations in their antiquity," was meant to refute the pretentious Jewish claim that their preservation for such a long time was proof that they had been chosen by God. He had certainly heard the argument of his friend, Dr. Juan de Prado, that "since the Chinese exist, and they count ten thousand years since the creation of the world, how can we say (according to the account of Moses) that only a little more than five thousand years have passed (since the creation of the world), because the Chinese could not be in error, since they erected a column every year."[81]

It is quite likely that Baruch Spinoza knew that his grandfather, Baruch Senior, had been circumcised posthumously, because he was named after him. His grandfather was circumcised only before his burial, because during his lifetime he had vacillated and never committed himself to Judaism till the end of his days, fearing that it would interfere with his frequent business trips to Antwerp. Spinoza's grandfather was buried beyond the fence of the cemetery thirteen years before the philosopher's birth and thirty-seven years before Baruch chose to live beyond the boundaries of Judaism.

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80 Yerushalmi, ibid., pp. 181 ff.; see also Y. Kaplan, *Les Nouveaux-Juifs d'Amsterdam. Essais sur l'histoire sociale et intellectuelle du judaïsme séfarade au XVII siècle*, Paris 1999, pp. 65–68.

81 See also the words spoken by Daniel (Juan) de Prado to his young student Samuel Nassi, around 1657, when he was closely associated with the young Spinoza, in Kaplan, *From Christianity to Judaism*, p. 140. On the possible influence of Isaac la Peyrère on Prado and Spinoza, see R.H. Popkin, *Isaac La Peyrère (1596–1676): His Life, Work and Influence*, Leiden, 1987, pp. 84–86.

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